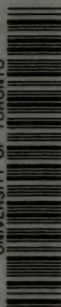


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THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

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AN INTRODUCTION
TO
THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

BY
THE REV. ERIC REDE BUCKLEY, M.A.
VICAR OF BURLEY-IN-WHARFEDALE
PROCTOR IN CONVOCATION

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PREFACE

EVERY reader of the New Testament who has been struck by the resemblance of the first three Gospels to one another, is conscious of the existence of the synoptic problem, though he may not call it by that name.

In this book I have endeavoured to show, not only how modern criticism answers the question, 'Why are these three Gospels so much alike?' but also to give the reasons for the answer. The subject has often been treated before, both in learned and popular works. In the former, the pages are usually loaded with long lists of references, and bristle with symbols and abbreviations. To the trained scholar such books are invaluable; to the younger student or the general reader they are apt to present difficulties. The mental effort required to bear in mind the meaning of numerous symbols is considerable; while the verification of references, though the very foundation of accurate scholarship, is, it must be feared, a duty too often neglected.

The more popular works, of which several excellent ones exist, are both easy and pleasant reading; as, however, few references are given in them, the reader has little chance of testing for himself the conclusions reached.

In the present book my object has been to steer a middle course between the learned and popular accounts of the matter. I have endeavoured to put before the reader evidence on which he may form an independent judgment. This I have done by quoting in English a number of passages illustrating each point in the discussion, so that the reader will neither have to refer to the New Testament continually, in order to follow the drift of the argument, nor to take it on trust that the evidence supports the views stated.

The translations are in most cases my own, as points of resemblance and difference can often be shown more clearly in a baldly literal version than in one of a more literary nature. Further, when giving lists of passages, I have usually added to the reference a few words indicating the contents of the places cited; and have throughout been sparing in the use of symbols and abbreviations. By this means I have hoped to make my pages less repellant to the eye than those of the learned works, more satisfying to the mind than those of the popular ones.

So much for the form of my book. As to its scope: I have aimed at giving a fairly complete account of the present condition of the problem. Thus, while giving the views most in favour with contemporary scholars, I have not hesitated to criticise them where they seemed open to criticism, or to suggest alternative views.

I have necessarily derived much from the work of others who have written on the subject, but the book as a whole is the result of my own study of the question, a study which

has occupied much of my leisure during the last ten or twelve years.

There are, however, two scholars to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude: Sir John Hawkins, whose *Horae Synopticae*, and Mr. Arthur Wright, whose *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, I have found of inestimable value.

I should like also to express my indebtedness to my old friend and teacher Professor Peake, who, more than twenty years ago, first aroused my interest in the subject; to Miss Frances Arnold-Forster and Miss Margaret Perceval, who have kindly read the proofs and checked the references for me; and to Mr. W. J. Goodrich for several valuable hints and suggestions.

In conclusion I would say that, while regarded merely as a literary problem the growth of the Gospels is a subject of enthralling interest, it should always be remembered that the study of it is only subsidiary to the greater and more important task of gaining a true insight into the message which the Gospels convey. It is of importance to the Christian, only because a right understanding of the process whereby the Gospel assumed the literary form in which it has come down to us really helps us to interpret the teaching of Christ better. The work of the exegete is more important spiritually than that of either the textual or the higher critic; it is architectonic, the art to which that of the others is subservient. At the same time the exegete cannot afford to disregard the labours of the textual or the literary critic, for the success of his own work is largely dependent on that of theirs, since the

exposition of a corrupt text, or of a book, as to whose date, authorship, and origin the commentator holds erroneous opinions, can only lead to bad exegesis.

All workers in the field of New Testament study should have the same motto : ' Christ is the end, for Christ was the beginning ; Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.'

E. R. B.

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THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

THE first three Gospels cannot be regarded as three entirely independent accounts of the life of Jesus Christ. The agreement which they exhibit, both as to the selection and arrangement of the facts narrated, and also as to the wording of many passages, is far greater than can be accounted for by the fact that they are all dealing with the same subject. Their mutual resemblances have led critics to give them the collective name of the Synoptic Gospels, a name which implies that the general synopsis, or outline, of the life and teaching of Jesus which each gives is similar to that given by the other two, and in certain respects different from that given in the fourth Gospel.

Primarily, then, the synoptic problem is concerned with accounting for the mutual resemblances of the first three Gospels, and only in a secondary degree with their differences. The books as they have come down to us are, strictly speaking, anonymous, for the names of the authors are not embodied in the Gospels themselves, and the attribution of them to S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke respectively is only traditional.

It is noteworthy that only one of these men to whom the authorship of the Synoptic Gospels is traditionally

attributed is an apostle, and one likely to have been an eye-witness of the events narrated, so in the cases of S. Mark and S. Luke the very titles of the books suggest that from very early times their contents were regarded as second-hand testimony ; and it is highly improbable that such a tradition would ever have sprung up in the second century had these two Gospels been written by personal followers of Jesus.

When we find two historical works, neither of which is the record of an eye-witness, containing many close resemblances in the accounts which they give of the same events, it is natural to explain these resemblances in one of two ways : (1) by supposing that one of these authors derived his information directly from the work of the other ; (2) by supposing that both relied upon some common source.

If, therefore, the Gospels of S. Mark and S. Luke stood alone the synoptic problem would be comparatively simple, and the possible solutions of it would be only three in number : (1) that S. Mark was dependent on S. Luke ; (2) that S. Luke was dependent on S. Mark ; (3) that both relied on a common source ; and if it could be shown that one of these hypotheses was considerably more probable than either of the other two, the problem would be solved.

S. Mark and S. Luke, however, do not stand alone ; both are closely related to the first Gospel, which is traditionally attributed to S. Matthew, one of the twelve apostles. Now, if this tradition is correct, the author of the first Gospel was an eye-witness of some, at any rate, of the events narrated in it.

It is, therefore, of vital importance to our inquiry to discover how much reliance can be placed on the

tradition which ascribes the first Gospel to the Apostle Matthew.

By far the most important evidence in its favour is the statement of Papias, preserved in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 39 :—

‘So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could.’ ✓

Eusebius quotes this merely as a statement of Papias, and not, as is the case with Papias's account of the composition of S. Mark's Gospel (*vide infra*, p. 7), as a tradition derived from ‘the elder’ (*i.e.* the elder John). Papias is generally supposed to have written about 125 A.D., so that a tradition recorded by him, for which he quotes the authority of a disciple of the Lord (as he states the elder John to have been), has very great weight. A statement made by Papias, for which he quotes no such authority, is on a very different footing; it may be, in this case we believe it is, merely a guess; and in estimating the value his guesses are likely to have we must remember that Eusebius, who knew his writings, had a very poor estimate of his ability. ‘He was evidently a man of very mean capacity, as one may say judging from his own statements,’ writes Eusebius.

Next, it must be noticed that it is by no means certain that when Papias says ‘the oracles’ (τὰ λόγια), he means a gospel; some have thought that he means a collection of the sayings of Christ; others a collection of Messianic prophecies from the Old Testament.

It must be observed, however, that in the passage dealing with S. Mark, which Eusebius clearly understood as referring to S. Mark's Gospel, Papias says that S. Peter ‘had no design of giving a connected account of the “Lord's

oracles''' (τῶν κυριακῶν . . . λογίων),¹ with the apparent implication that S. Mark had.

On the whole, then, it seems to the present writer that the balance of probabilities rather favours the view that Papias meant a gospel by 'oracles,' and supposed that the first Gospel was originally written in Hebrew (or Aramaic) by the Apostle Matthew. The work of Papias, from which the statement we have quoted was drawn, was entitled *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*. This work was known to Eusebius and Irenaeus. The exact nature of it we cannot now ascertain, but we learn from the statements of Eusebius that it contained traditions such as that concerning the composition of S. Mark's Gospel, and 'certain strange parables of the Saviour and teachings of His, and some other statements of a rather mythical character.' But, whatever the nature of Papias's book may have been, we may be confident that it did not at all resemble a connected commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew. If we may hazard a conjecture, we should suggest that it probably consisted of explanations, often fanciful, of certain sayings of Jesus selected from the written Gospels, supplemented and illustrated by sayings which he had learnt from oral tradition, to which Eusebius appears to have attributed little value, and anecdotes such as that of Barsabbas drinking a deadly poison and 'suffering no inconvenience.' Such an estimate of Papias's work accords well enough with Eusebius's account of it.

There seems, then, to be no reason for holding that the statement of Papias, relative to the writing of 'the

¹ This is the reading adopted by Lightfoot: Bright reads λόγων. If the latter reading be correct the argument given above is, of course, invalidated.

oracles' by S. Matthew, is anything more than a guess of that not very intelligent person himself; for had he given tradition as his authority Eusebius would probably have quoted him as so doing; and had he received any such tradition from the elder John, or any other disciple, he would almost certainly have said so.

The next piece of evidence we possess is that of Irenaeus ✓
(*Contra Haereses*, iii. 1, 1): 'Matthew indeed set forth a written gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect.' For this statement Irenaeus gives no authority; but since we know that he was acquainted with, and quoted the writing of Papias¹ (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 39), and since in the next sentence he gives an account of the origin of S. Mark's Gospel closely akin to that given by Papias, it seems highly probable that Irenaeus is not an independent witness, but derives his information from Papias.

If this surmise be correct, it will follow that Irenaeus must have interpreted the word 'oracles' to mean 'gospel'; and if he so interpreted it, the view that Papias also used it in this sense will receive a certain amount of confirmation.

The last piece of evidence which need be quoted is that of Origen, who is cited by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.*, vi. 25) as saying:—

'As I have understood from tradition, respecting the four Gospels, which are the only undisputed ones in the whole Church of God throughout the world. The first is written according to Matthew, the same who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus

¹ 'He was the cause why most of the ecclesiastical writers, urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by a similar opinion; as for instance Irenaeus.'

Christ, who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in the Hebrew.'

All that Origen adds to the information given by Irenaeus and Papias is that this Gospel was written for Jewish converts, but this may well be, and probably is, only an inference from the statement that Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

The evidence of Origen, then, is not sufficient to show that there was any Church tradition, independent of Papias, as to S. Matthew having written in Hebrew, and as to our first Gospel being a translation from such a Hebrew gospel. The external evidence, then, for the authorship of the first Gospel rests, it seems, wholly on the opinion of Papias, assuming that Papias meant the Gospel when he said the 'Oracles,' and if he did not, it rests on a mistaken assumption of Irenaeus and Origen that he did.

It may perhaps be permissible to conjecture the reasons which might have led Papias to the conclusion that the first Gospel was written by S. Matthew. It seems to the present writer that a sufficient reason is provided by the occurrence of the name Matthew (S. Matthew ix. 9) where the parallel passage in S. Mark (ii. 14) has Levi, especially if there was any tradition known to Papias that S. Matthew had written something; though, even apart from any such tradition, to a man of fanciful mind such as Papias appears to have been the fact referred to above might have served as a sufficient basis for his theory. Even the statement that S. Matthew wrote in Hebrew might only be an inference from the Jewish-Christian tone of the first Gospel, and the numerous Old Testament quotations it contains, when once S. Matthew had been surmised to be its author.

Whether there be anything in this conjecture or not, the nature of the external evidence is not of a kind to make it reasonable to assume that the first Gospel is the work of an apostle, in face of the strong internal evidence, which we shall have to examine later on, in favour of its being in part based on S. Mark, which is admittedly the work of one who was not an eye-witness.

In the opinion of many scholars the work to which Papias refers as the *Logia* was not the Gospel at all, but a collection of the sayings of Christ, and if this view be correct, the argument for supposing the Gospel according to S. Matthew to be the work of an apostle falls to the ground altogether, being based on what is, most likely, a misinterpretation by Irenaeus and Origen of the words of Papias.

With regard to the authorship of the second Gospel, it will be sufficient to quote the tradition preserved by Papias and quoted by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 39):—

‘And the elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord nor did he follow Him; but afterwards as I said (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord’s oracles (or “words” if we read *λογων* instead of *λογίων*). So then Mark made no mistake while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein.’

The tradition here preserved makes it clear that the author of the second Gospel was never regarded in the

Church as an eye-witness ; but its chief interest lies in the fact that it points us back to the preaching of S. Peter as the source from which S. Mark drew his facts. If this tradition be correct, and the internal evidence of the Gospel of S. Mark is quite in accord with it, it will not seem strange that the other two synoptists should have used S. Mark's Gospel as a basis for their own narratives.

The statement that S. Mark did not write 'in order' presents some difficulty, for *prima facie* S. Mark's Gospel does appear to be arranged, more or less, in chronological order. Possibly the words may merely express the opinion of Papias or the elder, based on the fact that the order of S. Matthew and S. Mark varies somewhat in the first half of the Gospel, and that much recorded in S. Matthew has no place in S. Mark. If Papias regarded the first Gospel (as he probably did) as the work of an apostle, it would be natural enough that he should regard S. Mark's as not written 'in order' when he found his order differing from that of S. Matthew. For our purpose it is sufficient to have noted that tradition makes the author of the second Gospel one who was not an eye-witness, but derived his information from one who was.

With regard to S. Luke's Gospel, there are no early traditions which throw any light on the question of its authorship, beyond the fact that from the middle of the second century it is always quoted as his. The tradition that Luke was one of the seventy disciples occurs first in Epiphanius, and is late and worthless ; that he was the unnamed companion of Cleopas (S. Luke xxiv. 18) is later still. There is no reason for doubting that he is the Luke mentioned in Colossians iv. 14, in which case he appears to have been a Gentile. The first indication we have of his association with S. Paul is the occurrence of

the pronoun 'we' in Acts xvi. 10, which no doubt indicates that the author of Acts, who is almost certainly the author of the third Gospel also, was in the apostle's company at Troas. In the case of the Gospel according to S. Luke, then, we may again take it for granted that we are not dealing with the writing of an eye-witness, a fact which the opening verses of his Gospel seem to imply from the contrast apparently drawn between the writer himself and 'those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.'

So far, therefore, as the external evidence is concerned, we are bound to regard the Gospels of S. Mark and S. Luke as the work of men who were not eye-witnesses, and have no sufficient reason for regarding that of S. Matthew as the work of one who was.

In the latter case the conclusion is merely a negative one, but it allows us to approach the consideration of the internal evidence with minds unbiassed as to the probability of any one of the synoptic evangelists having used and copied the work of one, or both, of the others.

At this point it will be convenient carefully to examine the preface to S. Luke's Gospel (i. 1-4¹) and consider what light it has to throw upon the composition of the Gospels.

In the first place, the opening words, 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative,' prove

¹ 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative of the things which have been fulfilled among us, according as they handed them down to us, who from the beginning became eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of the things about which thou hast been taught by word of mouth.'

that at the time he wrote a number of gospels, or at any rate of evangelistic narratives, existed in writing; for that S. Luke is here referring to written, not oral, narratives seems evident from the words 'it seemed good to me also *to write* unto thee,' since, unless the narratives mentioned in verse 1 had been written, the whole sentence would be lacking in balance and point.

It does not, of course, follow that S. Luke possessed copies of all the narratives he referred to, or that he used them in the composition of his own; it does not even follow that he was personally familiar with the contents of all or any of them; he may merely have been aware of their existence.

The extent to which he knew and used them cannot be exactly determined, but his allusion to them does at least prove the existence of what might be called an evangelic literature at the period at which S. Luke wrote.

If, on examination of the internal evidence, it is found that S. Luke's Gospel appears to be based wholly or in part upon earlier documents, it will be reasonable to suppose that these documents were some of the 'many narratives' to which he alludes. This point is of importance, since it shows that the critical assumption of written evangelic records earlier than the Synoptic Gospels is neither fanciful nor unwarrantable. In verse 2 of his preface S. Luke claims that the content of the Gospel narrative is based upon the tradition handed down by 'those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'; but the claim seems to be made on behalf of the narratives generally, not on behalf of his own as distinguished from those of others; for he goes on to give as his reason for writing the instruction of his

friend Theophilus, inserting his own claim to be regarded as accurate and well informed only in a parenthesis ('it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first').

His statement that he is writing 'in order' (*καθεξῆς*) does not necessarily imply that he claims to give events in a more exact chronological order than earlier writers had done; it may only mean that his Gospel is written on a fixed plan, and is no mere collection of disjointed and miscellaneous jottings; it is a formal and continuous narrative, not a number of unconnected anecdotes.

Finally, we have the allusion to the fact that Theophilus had been 'taught by word of mouth' (*κατηχήθης*), a practice which must have been common in the early days of Christianity. The exact content of such teaching cannot, of course, now be discovered, but we may surmise that it would probably have included the principal facts relating to our Lord's death and resurrection, together with some of His most notable sayings. Possibly we have a specimen of this oral teaching preserved in 1 Corinthians xv. 3-6, for S. Paul introduces it with the very same word, 'handed down' (*παράδιδωμι*), which S. Luke uses in his preface of the 'eye-witnesses and ministers.' The words of S. Paul may be quoted in full: 'That Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that He was buried; and that He was raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that He appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve, then He appeared to above five hundred brethren at once (of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep), then to James, then to all the apostles.'

The words enclosed in brackets are probably a comment of S. Paul's, and if they are removed the remainder will

be seen to be a list of facts put as shortly as possible ; wholly unlike the detailed accounts of the Synoptic Gospels, as far as form goes. Indeed, the only passage in the synoptists which at all resembles S. Paul's ' tradition ' in form is S. Mark xvi. 9-20, which is, in reality, no part of the Gospels at all, but an addition made at a later date to complete the second Gospel, which, as it stands in the best MSS., is manifestly imperfect.

We have called particular attention to this passage in 1 Corinthians xv., because it is the one passage in the New Testament which seems to give us some idea of what the catechetical teaching of primitive days was like ; and it is important to form a just estimate of this, because many critics have held that the oral teaching of the first disciples affords an adequate solution of the synoptic problem. Put briefly, the ' oral hypothesis,' as it has been called, is that the likenesses of wording and order found in the first three Gospels are adequately accounted for by supposing that each of the evangelists is embodying an oral tradition, which he had learnt by heart. Its supporters urge that there was a disinclination in the early Church to commit to writing the facts about Christ, and further, that there is no positive evidence of the existence of anything that could be called a written gospel for thirty or forty years after the Ascension, the Epistles of S. Paul containing no references or allusions to a written gospel. During this long period, it is held, the oral teaching must have acquired a more or less stereotyped form, both as to order and wording, so that the matter common to the three Synoptic Gospels may be regarded as the oral teaching at last committed to writing. This theory is supposed to account for the fact that the first three Gospels, as far as regards their common matter,

present strongly marked general resemblances, combined with equally well-marked differences in detail.

The first objection to this hypothesis is that while it gives a fairly reasonable account of the 'triple tradition,' as the matter common to all three synoptists is called, it leaves the 'double tradition' (*i.e.* the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke but not found in S. Mark) unaccounted for. Now it is just as reasonable to assume an oral teaching as the basis of the double as of the triple tradition; but if we do so we must assume the existence of two distinct oral traditions, one of which was used little, if at all, by S. Mark.

The second objection is that many of the resemblances exhibited by the Synoptic Gospels are far more reasonably explained on a documentary than on an oral hypothesis. An instance or two may be given. In all three Gospels the paragraph recording the betrayal of Jesus (S. Mark xiv. 43 and parallels) opens with the same words, 'while He was thus speaking' (*ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*), while in all three Judas is described as 'one of the twelve' (*εἰς τῶν δωδέκα*). In the brief narrative introducing the parable of the sower S. Matthew and S. Mark both employ the same words, 'so that He entering a ship sat' (*ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι*). It is exceedingly difficult to understand how minute agreements in details of wording, like these and many others, should have been preserved from oral tradition in the midst of numerous changes. When three different men were writing down an oral tradition we should expect to find agreement as to the important words, variation in unimportant words; what we find, in fact, is that many of the most striking resemblances occur in wholly unimportant turns of expression, where the sense might have been equally well given

in several other ways. It must be noted that the agreements we have instanced imply not only a common source, but a common Greek source ; and the oral tradition, if it ever existed, is far more likely to have been formed originally in Aramaic. But if the common tradition used by the synoptists was in Greek, the arguments drawn from the retentive nature of Oriental memories and the Oriental habit of learning by heart in favour of the oral hypothesis are materially weakened, for there is abundant evidence to show that, among Greek-speaking people of the first century A.D., writing was a common accomplishment, and one in constant use.

If we could accept the view of Mr. Arthur Wright that ' a professional class was set apart for preserving ' the oral tradition, and that these ' Catechists ' in turn taught verbatim to others the tradition which they had themselves learnt by heart, and ' kept in memory by daily repetition,' the agreements of the synoptists would be easily explained on the oral hypothesis ; but their disagreements would at the same time be proportionately more difficult to understand.

The majority of scholars, however, are now agreed that the common source or sources of the first three evangelists were most probably written, so that the synoptic problem is best treated as a literary one.

This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that behind the sources of our Synoptic Gospels there lies an earlier unwritten tradition ; for unless it can be shown that one of the Synoptic Gospels, or at least one of their sources, is a written record by a personal companion of Christ, the ultimate authority for the facts contained in these Gospels must be the oral testimony of ' those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of

the word.' Nor does it exclude the possibility that each of the Gospels may contain details drawn from unwritten tradition.

There are two problems which must be kept quite distinct :—

(1) How are we to account for the preservation of the Gospel tradition at all ?

(2) How are we to account for the form which that tradition takes in the Synoptic Gospels as we now have them ?

For the solution of the first some form of oral hypothesis is no doubt necessary ; for the solution of the second the oral hypothesis is not adequate.

When, therefore, we reject the oral hypothesis we do not deny that for a considerable period the Gospel history remained unwritten ; we rather assert that the assumption that two at least of the writers of the Synoptic Gospels had access to and made use of written records provides a better solution of the synoptic problem.

The popularity of the oral hypothesis was, perhaps, in part due to a disinclination to believe that the evangelists would make numerous or material alterations in a written document, which, wholly or in part, they embodied in their Gospels. There is, however, nothing antecedently improbable in their having done so, for there is no reason to suppose that they regarded the text of the documents which they employed with the same sort of reverence that later generations have regarded that of the Gospels themselves. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that even after the Canonical Gospels were written, copyists for a considerable period felt themselves at liberty to introduce corrections and alterations into the texts of the books they copied.

NOTE

In estimating the value of the evidence of Papias it must be borne in mind that he does not himself claim to have been a hearer of the apostles; that he was a hearer of S. John the Apostle rests on the evidence of Irenaeus, evidence which Eusebius seemed inclined to discredit. What Papias himself says is: 'On any occasion when a person came (in my way), who had been a follower of the elders, I would inquire about the discourses of the elders,' and among the elders he names Aristion and John the elder.

The tradition, then, about S. Mark's Gospel, which Papias preserves, is only what he remembered of what somebody had told him that 'the elder' (*i.e.* apparently John) had said.

For his statement about S. Matthew's Gospel we have not even this amount of traditional support; as preserved by Eusebius, it appears merely as his own opinion of the matter.

CHAPTER II

THE METHOD OF INQUIRY

HAVING reached the general conclusion that the solution of the synoptic problem is most likely to be found in some form of documentary hypothesis, it is time to compare the three Gospels a little more closely in order to discover, if possible, the most profitable method whereby to proceed with the inquiry.

For this purpose we propose to show that there is sufficient *prima facie* case in favour of the following hypotheses to make it worth while examining them in detail.

I. That the matter common to all three synoptists was drawn from one common source.

II. That the matter common to S. Mark and S. Luke, as well as that common to S. Mark and S. Matthew, was drawn from the same source as the matter common to all three.

III. That the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke, but not found in S. Mark, was drawn from another source or sources.

IV. That the order of the common source is most closely preserved in S. Mark.

A fuller statement of the evidence for these theories will be given later, as well as an examination of objections to them. In this chapter we only propose to give sufficient evidence to show that there is a case for inquiry.

The first thing which leads us to suspect that the writers

of the Synoptic Gospels employed a common source is the fact that, while a very large amount of matter is common to all three of them, outside the narrative of the passion, very little is common to them and to the fourth Gospel.

This will be best seen if a table of the undoubtedly common matter be examined, and the relation which the common matter bears to the total contents of each Gospel be noted.

TABLE I

SUBJECT.	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.	S. LUKE.	S. JOHN.
1. Preaching of John,	i. 7-11	iii. 11, 13, 16, 17	iii. 16, 21, 22	
2. The temptation, .	i. 12-13	iv. 1	iv. 1	
3. Return to Galilee,	i. 14 ^a	iv. 12	iv. 14	
4. Effect of Jesus's teaching	i. 22	vii. 28 ^b , 29	iv. 32	
5. Healing the sick, .	i. 29-34	viii. 14-16	iv. 38-41	
6. Cleansing a leper, .	i. 40-45	viii. 1-4	v. 12-16	
7. Healing a paralytic,	ii. 1-12	ix. 1-8	v. 17-26	
8. Jesus and publicans,	ii. 13-17	ix. 9-13	v. 27-32	
9. Fasting, . . .	ii. 18-22	ix. 14-17	v. 33-38	
10. Question of the Sabbath	{ ii. 23-28 iii. 1-6	xii. 1-8, 9, 10, 13-14	vi. 1-11	
11. Names of apostles,	iii. 13-19	x. 1-4	vi. 12-16	
12. Mother and brethren,	iii. 31-35	xii. 46-50	viii. 19-21	
13. Sermon by the sea,	iv. 1-20, 25	xiii. 1-11, 12- 13, 15 ^b , 19- 23	viii. 1-15, 18	
14. Stilling the storm,	iv. 35-41	viii. 18, 23-27	viii. 22 ^b -25	
15. Gerasene demoniac,	v. 1-17	viii. 28-34	viii. 26-37	
16. Jairus's daughter, etc.	v. 21-43	ix. 18-25	viii. 40-56	
17. Mission of the twelve	vi. 7-11	x. 1, 5, 9-11, 14	ix. 1-5	
18. Herod's opinion of Jesus	vi. 14-16	xiv. 1-2	ix. 7-9	
19. Feeding of 5000, .	vi. 30, 32- 44	xiv. 12-21	ix. 10-17	vi. 1-15
20. S. Peter's confession,	viii. 27-31	xvi. 13-16, 20	ix. 18-22	(vi. 67-69)

TABLE I.—*continued*

SUBJECT.	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.	S. LUKE.	S. JOHN.
21. Self-renunciation, .	{ viii. 34-38 ix. 1	xvi. 24-28	ix. 23-27	
22. Transfiguration, .	ix. 2-8	xvii. 1-8	ix. 28-30, 33 ^b -36	
23. Demoniac boy, .	ix. 14, 17-20 25 ^b , 26 ^a	xvii. 14-19	ix. 37-42	
24. Prediction of passion	ix. 30-32	xvii. 22-23	ix. 43-45	
25. Dispute, . . .	ix. 33, 34, 36, 37	xviii. 1, 2, 5	ix. 46-48	
26. Blessing children, .	x. 13-16	xix. 13-15	xviii. 15-17	
27. Rich young man, .	x. 17-22	xix. 16-22	xviii. 18-23	
28. Sayings, . . .	x. 23, 25-30	xix. 23-29	xviii. 25-30	
29. Prediction of passion	x. 32 ^b -34	xx. 17-19	xviii. 31-33	
30. Bartimaeus, . .	x. 46-52	xx. 29-34	xviii. 35-43	
31. Triumphal entry, .	xi. 1-10	xxi. 1-3, 6-9	xix. 29-36, 38	xii. 12-15
32. Cleansing Temple,	xi. 15-17, 18	xxi. 12, 13, 15	xix. 45-48	ii. 13-17
33. Question about John	xi. 27-33	xxi. 23-26	xx. 1-8	
34. Parable of vineyard, etc.	xii. 1-12	xxi. 33-42, 45-46	xx. 9-17, 19	
35. Questions, . . .	xii. 13-27	xxii. 15-33	xx. 20-38	
36. Teaching in Temple,	xii. 35-37	xxii. 41-45	xx. 41-44	
37. Discourse about the 'last things'	xiii. 1, 2, 4- 9, 11-17, 19 ^a , 24- 26, 28-31	xxiv. 1-2, 3 ^b -8, 9-14, 15-19, 21, 29, 30, 32-36	xxi. 5-21, 23, 25-27, 29-33	
38. Priests resolve to kill Jesus	xiv. 1-2	xxvi. 2-5	xxii. 1-2	
39. Covenant with Judas	xiv. 10-11	xxvi. 14-15	xxii. 3-6	xiii. 2 ^b
40. Preparations for passover	xiv. 12-16	xxvi. 17-19	xxii. 7-13	
41. Betrayal foretold,	xiv. 17-21	xxvi. 20-24	xxii. 14-22	xiii. 21-30
42. Eucharist, . . .	xiv. 22-25	xxvi. 26-29	xxii. 17-19	
43. Going to Mount of Olives	xiv. 26	xxvi. 30	xxii. 39	
44. Peter's denial foretold	xiv. 30	xxvi. 34	xxii. 34	xiii. 37-38

TABLE I.—*continued*

SUBJECT.	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.	S. LUKE.	S. JOHN.
45. The agony, . .	xiv. 32-38	xxvi. 36-41	xxii. 40-45	
46. The arrest, . .	xiv. 43-45, 47-49	xxvi. 47-49, 51, 55, 56	xxii. 47-48, 50, 52, 53	xviii. 3-11
47. Mocking, . .	xiv. 65	xxvi. 67, 68 ^a	xxii. 64	
48. Peter's denials, .	xiv. 66-72	xxvi. 69-75	xxii. 56-62	xviii. 17, 25-27
49. Jesus before Pilate,	xv. 2	xxvii. 11	xxiii. 3	
50. Release of Barabbas,	xv. 6-9, 13- 15	xxvii. 15-17, 22-26	xxiii. 18-20, 21-25	{ xviii. 39-40 xix. 1-16
51. Simon bears the cross	xv. 20 ^b , 21	xxvii. 31 ^b - 32	xxiii. 26	
52. The crucifixion, .	xv. 22-33	xxvii. 33-44	xxiii. 33-39	xix. 18-24
53. The rending of the veil	xv. 38	xxvii. 51	xxiii. 45	
54. The centurion, .	xv. 39	xxvii. 54	xxiii. 47	
55. The women, . .	xv. 40-41	xxvii. 55-56	xxiii. 49	
56. Joseph's request, .	xv. 43	xxvii. 57	xxiii. 50-52	} xix. 33-42
57. The entombment, .	xv. 46-47	xxvii. 59-61	xxiii. 53-55	
58. The resurrection, .	xvi. 1-8	xxviii. 1-7	xxiv. 1-6	xx. 1

Here it will be noticed that of the first thirty-eight passages common to the synoptists, only four have parallels in the fourth Gospel; this fact alone would suffice to raise a presumption that the synoptists might have employed a common source or sources.

In the next place, it will be noticed that the general order of the passages in all three Gospels is similar. The order of S. Matthew and S. Mark is identical for the passages marked 18-58, that of S. Mark and S. Luke for those marked 1-11 and 14-40. Thus prior to the narrative of the passion there is only one case of difference between S. Mark and S. Luke, viz. the order of passages 12 and 13; in this case S. Matthew agrees with S. Mark, as he does also in the passages of the narrative of the passion, in which S. Luke differs from S. Mark. In the earlier portion of the Gospel the narrative of S. Matthew is arranged in a

somewhat different order from that of the other two ; but since there is no case in which S. Matthew and S. Luke both vary from S. Mark at the same point, it is highly probable that the common matter was drawn by all three evangelists from one source, and that the order of that source has been faithfully preserved by S. Mark.

It will be interesting to notice the proportion of common matter in each Gospel to the total contents of the chapters in which it is embedded. Roughly, this is :—

	Total No. of Verses.	No. of Verses of Common Matter.
S. Mark i. 1-xvi. 8,	666	362
S. Matthew iii. 11-xxviii. 7,	1009	320
S. Luke iii. 16-xxiv. 6,	957	336

Such figures, of course, only give a rough idea of the amount of matter common to the three Gospels, but they are sufficiently accurate to allow us to say that more than half of the matter contained in S. Mark, and about one-third of that contained in S. Matthew and S. Luke respectively, has the appearance of being derived from a common source.

When the portions of the Gospels which are not common to all three synoptists are examined, it is found that a certain amount is common to two of them. Thus the following passages in S. Mark and S. Luke seem clearly to be derived from a common source.

TABLE II

SUBJECT.	S. MARK.	S. LUKE.
1. Demoniac at Capernaum,	i. 23-28	iv. 33-37
2. A preaching tour,	i. 35-39	iv. 42-44
3. The demoniac's request,	v. 18-20	viii. 37-39
4. The man who did not follow Jesus	ix. 38-40	ix. 49, 50
5. The widow's mites,	xii. 41-44	xxi. 1-4

A larger number of passages found in both S. Matthew and S. Mark but not in S. Luke seem to have a common origin.

TABLE III

SUBJECT.	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.
1. Call of first four disciples, . . .	i. 16-20	iv. 18-22
2. Saying—'the strong man,' . . .	iii. 27	xii. 29
3. Speaking in parables, . . .	iv. 33-34	xiii. 34
4. Visit to Nazareth, . . .	vi. 1-6 ^a	xiii. 53-58
5. Death of John Baptist, . . .	vi. 17-29	xiv. 3-12 ^a
6. Walking on the sea, . . .	vi. 45-51	xiv. 22-27, 32
7. At Gennesaret, . . .	vi. 53-56	xiv. 34-36
8. A discourse, . . .	vii. 1, 5-23	xv. 1-11, 15-20
9. In Phœnicia, . . .	vii. 24-30	xv. 21, 22, 26-28
10. Return to Galilee, . . .	vii. 31	xv. 29
11. Feeding of the 4000, . . .	viii. 1-10	xv. 32-39
12. Jesus and the Pharisees, . . .	viii. 11-13, 15-20	xvi. 1-10
13. S. Peter rebuked, . . .	viii. 32, 33	xvi. 22-23
14. Descent from the mount, . . .	ix. 9-13	xvii. 9-13
15. Causing scandals, . . .	ix. 42-47	xviii. 6-9
16. Question of divorce, . . .	x. 1-9, 11, 12	xix. 1-9
17. Request of James and John, . . .	x. 35-41	xx. 20-24
18. Cursing the fig-tree, . . .	xi. 12-14	xxi. 18-19 ^a
19. Withering of the fig-tree, . . .	xi. 20-24	xxi. 19 ^b -22
20. The scribe's question, . . .	xii. 28-31	xxii. 35-39
21. Anointing at Bethany, . . .	xiv. 3-9	xxvi. 6-13
22. Further details of the agony, . . .	xiv. 39-42	xxvi. 42-46
23. Trial before Caiaphas, . . .	xiv. 55-64	xxvi. 59-65
24. Mockery by soldiers, . . .	xv. 16-20 ^a	xxvii. 27-31 ^a
25. The cry of despair, . . .	xv. 34-36	xxvii. 46-48

In compiling these tables care has been taken not to exaggerate the amount of agreement. Thus in Table I. only those passages have been inserted in which the agreement of all three evangelists is clear, and in Tables II. and III. only those passages to which the third evangelist affords no parallel, so that a certain number of passages,

in the case of which it is doubtful whether they ought to be included in Table I. or in Tables II. or III., have been omitted from the tables altogether. For instance, S. Mark xii. 38-40 is clearly parallel to S. Luke xx. 45-47, yet it is excluded from Table II. on the ground that S. Matthew xxiii. 1, 6, 7 may also be parallel, though the similarity of the passage in S. Matthew to those in S. Mark and S. Luke is hardly close enough to justify its inclusion in Table I.

Therefore when it is observed that about 544 of the 666 verses of S. Mark's Gospel are found in these tables, it will be felt that in reality only a small portion of the second Gospel is without parallel in one or both of the other synoptists. That these resemblances are due to the use of one rather than several common sources is, of course, by no means self-evident, and is a point which will have to receive careful consideration later.

In the next place, a comparison will have to be made between those parts of S. Matthew and S. Luke to which S. Mark presents no parallels, but which *prima facie* suggest the employment of a common source.

A table of these passages will be given in a subsequent chapter; for the present it will be sufficient to notice that, according to Harnack's calculations (*Sayings of Jesus*, p. 315), about 236 verses of S. Matthew which have no parallels in S. Mark seem to be drawn from the same source as similar passages in S. Luke numbering about 223 verses.

Thus it will be seen that the amount of matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke appears to be greater than that common to either of them and S. Mark. It may roughly be stated as follows:—

S. Matthew has 456 verses parallel to S. Mark; 556 verses parallel to S. Luke.

S. Luke has 354 verses parallel to S. Mark ; 559 verses parallel to S. Matthew.

Taking these figures as roughly representing the facts, it might be argued that the common source is to be looked for in the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke, it being, *a priori*, just as probable that S. Mark omitted portions of the common source as that S. Matthew and S. Luke added to it from other sources.

The reasons against such an hypothesis are, however, very weighty.

I. There is not the same general resemblance of order in the matter found in S. Matthew and S. Luke as there is in the matter common to all three.

II. In S. Matthew and S. Luke there are a number of cases in which sayings or events appear to be recorded twice over, once in the form in which they appear in S. Mark, once in another form. The appearance of such 'doublets,' as they are called, is an almost certain sign that the writings in which they occur are compilations based upon two different sources.

A good instance of a doublet is the following :—in the sermon by the sea, S. Matthew xiii. 12, S. Mark iv. 25, and S. Luke viii. 18 all have the same saying, with only slight variations : 'Whoever has it shall be given to him, and whoever has not, even what he has shall be taken away from him' ; while S. Matthew xxv. 29 and S. Luke xix. 26 have a similar saying at the conclusion of the parable of the talents and the pounds respectively : 'For to every one that has it shall be given, and from him who has not, even what he has shall be taken away.' In each case we have given the saying in its simplest form, omitting the slight additions which S. Matthew makes in both cases and S. Luke in the former.

The obvious inference is that in one of their sources (that used also by S. Mark) S. Matthew and S. Luke found one form of the saying closely connected with the parable of the sower; in another (not used by S. Mark) they found a somewhat different form of the saying closely connected with the parable of the talents (or pounds). If this case stood alone it would prove little, but there are many similar instances. S. Matthew twice gives the saying about cutting off the offending hand and plucking out the offending eye: once in the same context as S. Mark gives it (cf. S. Matthew xviii. 8, 9 and S. Mark ix. 43, 45, 47), once in the Sermon on the Mount (S. Matthew v. 29-30).

Again, S. Matthew twice gives our Lord's condemnation of divorce: once in xix. 9, where the context and form of the saying closely resemble those of S. Mark x. 11, and again in v. 32, where the wording presents certain resemblances to that of S. Luke xvi. 18. Sir J. C. Hawkins has collected twenty-two instances of such doublets in S. Matthew and eleven in S. Luke (see *Horae Synopticae*, 2nd edit., pp. 82-106). This seems sufficient to indicate clearly the use of two sources by S. Matthew and S. Luke. We conclude, then, that the matter common to these two evangelists, but not found in S. Mark, is more likely to have been derived by them from some other source than from that which he also employed.

The whole question of the non-Marcian matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke will be considered fully later. We must now return to the matter common to all three evangelists, and that common to S. Mark and one of the others, and inquire whether there are any reasons for supposing that this is more likely to have been derived from one source than from several.

I. As we have already seen, the matter common to all three presents a sufficient general agreement in order to suggest that for this, at least, one source only was employed.

II. If the matter common to S. Mark and S. Luke (Table II.) be added to the matter common to all three, it will be found that no dislocation of order results. But if the two evangelists had been independently combining two sources, it is hardly conceivable that they should have dovetailed them together in exactly the same way.

III. The same holds good when the matter common to S. Mark and S. Matthew (Table III.) is added to the matter common to all three. Of the twenty-five passages found in this table twenty-four can be inserted in their places in Table I. without disturbing the general agreement as to order exhibited by the two evangelists; and, in the case of the one exception, the variation of order is so slight and so easily accounted for as to cause no difficulty.

So far we have dealt only with the general resemblances of subject-matter and arrangement which the Synoptic Gospels present. Attention must now be drawn to the fact that they present also very remarkable resemblances in the actual wording of parallel passages. A few instances will suffice.

I. *S. Mark* xiv. 43. 'While He was yet speaking there cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a multitude.'

S. Matthew xxvi. 47. 'While He was yet speaking, behold Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a multitude.'

S. Luke xxii. 47. 'While He was yet speaking, behold a multitude, and he who was called Judas, one of the twelve, approached.'

Here it must be noticed that, for a piece of narrative, the resemblance is very close. The exact phrase, 'while He was yet speaking' (ἐτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος), is identical in all three, but it is not a common expression in any of them, occurring elsewhere in the Synoptic Gospels once in S. Matthew, once in S. Mark, and twice in S. Luke. Again, all three describe Judas as 'one of the twelve.' While in the general run of the sentence S. Matthew and S. Mark are more closely akin than either is to S. Luke, S. Matthew and S. Luke both have the word 'behold' (ἰδοῦ), which S. Mark lacks.

II. *S. Mark* x. 25. 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle (τρυμαλιᾶς ῥαφίδος), than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.'

S. Matthew xix. 24. 'It is easier for a camel to go in through the eye of a needle (τρήματος ῥαφίδος), than for a rich man into the kingdom of God.'

S. Luke xviii. 25. 'For it is easier for a camel to go in through the eye of a needle (τρήματος βελόνης), than for a rich man to go into the kingdom of God.'

As is natural, in the case of a saying of our Lord, the agreement is here very close, but several small variations must be noted. S. Luke inserts the word 'for,' and uses a different word for 'needle.' S. Matthew has the word 'enter' or 'go in' once only; S. Luke has it twice; S. Mark has it once, and a similar word, 'to go through,' once. S. Mark uses a different word for 'eye' from that found in the other two.

III. *S. Mark* i. 40^b-42. 'If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean. And being touched with compassion, stretching forth the hand He touched him, and said to him, I will; be thou made clean. And

immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was made clean.'

S. Matthew viii. 2, 3. 'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean. And stretching forth the hand He touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And immediately his leprosy was made clean.'

S. Luke v. 12^b, 13. 'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean. And stretching forth the hand He touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.'

In this instance we notice several agreements of *S. Matthew* and *S. Luke* against *S. Mark*. Both insert 'Lord' and omit 'being touched with compassion'; both slightly alter the order in one clause, putting 'Him' before 'touched' (in the Greek); both use a slightly different word for 'immediately' (*εὐθέως* for *εὐθύς*). On the other hand, *S. Mark* and *S. Matthew* agree in saying that the leprosy 'was cleansed'; *S. Mark* and *S. Luke* in saying that it 'departed.'

These instances will suffice to show the general nature of the agreement between the synoptists in the common matter, and also to show that these agreements are very perplexing. Sometimes *S. Matthew* and *S. Mark* agree against *S. Luke*; sometimes *S. Mark* and *S. Luke* against *S. Matthew*; sometimes *S. Matthew* and *S. Luke* against *S. Mark*. Clearly there is not one simple solution which will explain all these cross-agreements. The relation of the narratives one to another may be illustrated in another way. The matter contained in *S. Mark* ii. 1-22 is given continuously in all three evangelists in the same order.

If S. Matthew and S. Mark be compared, they will be found to have 198 words in common in this passage ; S. Mark and S. Luke 169 ; S. Matthew and S. Luke 138. Similar figures will be obtained if other passages are compared, the greatest amount of agreement (in any passage of more than two or three verses) being usually exhibited by S. Matthew and S. Mark, sometimes by S. Mark and S. Luke, but never by S. Matthew and S. Luke.

This suggests that the best way of examining in more detail the mutual resemblances of the synoptists is to compare first S. Matthew and S. Mark, then S. Mark and S. Luke. In both cases it can, we believe, be shown that the most probable explanation of the likenesses, and of a large number of the differences also, is that both S. Matthew and S. Luke used either S. Mark, or a document which resembled his Gospel more closely than either of the others. If this be so, the conclusion reached from the resemblances of wording will coincide with that reached from the resemblances of order.

This will leave the resemblances of S. Matthew and S. Luke, where they agree against S. Mark, to be accounted for ; and this problem will have to receive separate consideration. The weight of the evidence in favour of the view that S. Mark preserves the wording of the common source more closely than either S. Matthew or S. Luke is more readily perceived when the Gospels are compared two at a time than when the three versions of the common matter are compared simultaneously. It is, then, for the sake of greater clearness that this method has been adopted.

NOTE

AGREEMENT IN ORDER A PROOF OF THE USE OF A COMMON SOURCE

It has been assumed in the foregoing chapter that agreement in the order in which incidents are narrated is proof of the use of a common source. But it must be remembered that this is true only within certain limits. Where the order is clearly historical, and indications of the interval elapsing between one event and the next are given, it is of little force. Where the connection is literary rather than historical it has considerable weight (*e.g.* S. Mark ii. 23-iii. 6, where two incidents, both bearing on the keeping of the Sabbath, are grouped together without any indication that the order is strictly chronological). When an incident is given out of its true chronological order, as is the death of S. John Baptist, in both S. Matthew and S. Mark, where it is given parenthetically to explain why Herod thought Jesus was John risen from the dead, the obvious reason for the agreement is the use of a common source. But while similarity of order may be evidence that two narratives are not independent, we cannot invert the argument and say that difference of order proves that similar matter has not been drawn from a common source. This point is of importance, for it has been argued recently by Professor Flinders Petrie (*Growth of the Gospels*) that the occurrence of the same episodes, in the same order, in two or more documents is the *sole* means by which the common source can be determined. Applying this test to the Synoptic Gospels, he claims to have reconstructed the nucleus from which all three sprang by removing from each one of them every episode which does not occur in the other two in the same order. This method, he claims, provides us with 'an absolutely impersonal critical engine, which must yield the same results whoever may be the operator.'

Let us apply it to the matter contained in Table I. Here Nos. 1-4 are in the same order in all three Gospels; but which are we to place fifth? S. Mark and S. Luke place the healing of Peter's wife's mother before the cleansing of the leper, S. Matthew after it. At this point, then, two orders are possible: either that of S. Mark and S. Luke or that of S. Matthew, but which is the more probable cannot be decided by 'an impersonal critical engine.'

If we follow the order of S. Mark and S. Luke the nucleus will consist of Nos. 1-4, 7-9, 16, 18-30, etc. If we follow that of S. Matthew it will consist of Nos. 1-4, 6-9, 11, 17, 18-30, etc. If we refuse to give preference to either order over the other we come to a deadlock on the first point, where a difference of order occurs, for clearly both the possible reconstructions cannot be right.

The fact is that Professor Petrie's method is not adapted to the solution of so delicate a problem as that which the Synoptic Gospels present; for it rests on the wholly gratuitous assumption that in no case could an author have placed an incident in a different position from that in which he found it in his source.

Order, as we have seen, is a useful indication, under certain circumstances, of community of source; it is neither the only nor the most convincing one.

A simple and complete refutation of Professor Flinders Petrie's theory may be arrived at by arranging three sets of coloured counters in varying order, each set beginning with the same colours, thus:—

1. Red	2. Red	3. Red
Blue	Blue	Blue
Green	White	White
Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
White	Green	Purple
Black	Purple	Green
Purple	Black	Black

If we ask which colours occur in the same order in each set we find not one series but four (in each case consisting of four columns):—

1. Red	Blue	Yellow	Purple
2. Red	Blue	Green	Black
3. Red	Blue	White	Purple
4. Red	Blue	White	Black

Why should we describe one of them as 'the common order' in preference to any of the other three?

CHAPTER III

GOSPELS OF S. MATTHEW AND S. MARK COMPARED

IF the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark be carefully compared paragraph by paragraph, line by line, it will soon become evident that there is a 'Gospel tradition' common to the two evangelists.

S. Mark, it is true, preserves a small amount of matter not recorded by S. Matthew, and S. Matthew a large amount not recorded by S. Mark; but the account of the life of Jesus from His baptism to His resurrection, as given in these two Gospels, consists of the same facts told in much the same order.

The resemblance of the two accounts to one another, as far as regards their subject-matter and general arrangement, is best seen if we start our comparison from S. Mark vi. 14, which is parallel to S. Matthew xiv. 1, and place side by side all the passages common to the two Gospels from that point onwards. It will be noticed that after excluding the last twelve verses of S. Mark xvi. (which are not part of the second Gospel as originally written) we have left 461 verses in the portion of S. Mark we are considering, and to some 430 of these S. Matthew presents a parallel; further, with a few exceptions, they occur in the same order in S. Matthew as they do in S. Mark.

The passages of S. Mark vi. 14-xvi. 8 to which S. Matthew affords no parallel are:—

- (I.) vii. 2-4. Explanation of Pharisaic traditions.
- (II.) vii. 31^b-37. Healing of deaf and dumb man.
- (III.) viii. 22-26. Healing of the blind man at Bethsaida.
- (IV.) ix. 49, 50^b. Two sayings about salt.
- (V.) xii. 32-34. The scribe's response to Jesus.
- (VI.) xii. 41-44. The widow's mites.
- (VII.) xiii. 34-37. The similitude of the man taking a journey.
- (VIII.) xiv. 51. The young man who fled away naked.
- (IX.) xv. 44-45. Pilate's wonder at Jesus being dead.

Of the four passages in this portion of S. Mark, which occur in different contexts in S. Matthew, three are short sayings of Jesus (ix. 41, 50^a; xi. 25), and in each case the differences of wording in the two Gospels suggest that the forms in which they respectively preserve these sayings may have been derived from different sources. In the fourth case, S. Mark xi. 20-22, the difference is this: S. Mark places the withering of the barren fig-tree on the day after it was cursed, and consequently after the cleansing of the Temple. S. Matthew states that the fig-tree withered immediately it was cursed, and therefore places the withering before the cleansing of the Temple.

In a few cases, *e.g.* S. Mark vii. 5-13; ix. 12-13, the order of the sentences in a paragraph is not the same in both Gospels.

It is clear, then, that in the latter part of these Gospels the two evangelists not only preserve a large amount of the same matter, but preserve it, with a few not very important exceptions, in the same order.

Next, the matter found in this portion of S. Matthew's Gospel but not in S. Mark's must be considered. The greater part of it consists of parables and discourses of

Christ, viz. S. Matthew xviii. 10-35; xx. 1-16; xxi. 28-32; xxii. 1-14; xxiii. 13-39; xxiv. 43-51; xxv.; after each of these passages S. Matthew resumes the common narrative exactly where he had left it. There are a few cases of shorter sayings peculiar to S. Matthew, viz. xv. 9, 12, 31; xix. 10-12; xxvii. 43, occurring in the midst of Marcan matter. The remainder of the matter peculiar to S. Matthew in these chapters consists of seven pieces of narrative, all except three of which occur in Chapter xxvii:—

- (I.) S. Matthew xiv. 28-31. S. Peter walking on the sea.
- (II.) xv. 30-31. An account of the cures wrought by Jesus after His return from Tyre and Sidon: but as this occurs in the same context as S. Mark's account of the deaf man with an impediment in his speech, it may perhaps be regarded as virtually parallel to it.
- (III.) xvii. 24-27. The incident of the piece of money in the fish's mouth.
- (IV.) xxvii. 3-10. The suicide of Judas.
- (V.) xxvii. 19-23. Pilate's wife's dream.
- (VI.) xxvii. 51^b-53. The resurrection of the saints.
- (VII.) xxvii. 62-66. The sealing of the sepulchre (cf. xxviii. 11-15).

At this stage of the inquiry it is impossible to decide whether S. Mark is omitting portions of the common source, or S. Matthew who is adding new matter to it; though it is, perhaps, slightly in favour of the latter hypothesis that, in the passages found in both Gospels, S. Mark is usually the fuller and more circumstantial. But that there was one source common to both evangelists for the portion of

their work we have been surveying seems to be beyond question.

We may now consider the earlier portions of the Gospels, viz. S. Mark i. 1-vi. with its parallels in S. Matthew iii. 1-xiii. 58 (leaving out of account S. Matthew i. and ii. as having no parallel at all in S. Mark). Here, of the 205 verses contained in S. Mark, all save six paragraphs, containing about $21\frac{1}{2}$ verses, have parallels in S. Matthew. These are (omitting a few cases of mere detail, *e.g.* iii. 9, 10^b, 11) :—

- (I.) i. 23-27. Healing the demoniac in the synagogue.
- (II.) i. 35-39. Departure of Jesus on a preaching tour.
- (III.) iii. 19^b-21. The charge that Jesus was mad.
- (IV.) iv. 26-29. Parable of the seed growing secretly.
- (V.) v. 18-20. Jesus refuses to let the healed demoniac follow Him.
- (VI.) vi. 12-13. Short account of the mission of the Twelve.

Thus, of the 666 verses of S. Mark's Gospel, about 614, or rather more than nine-tenths, have parallels in S. Matthew's Gospel.

But in the earlier portions of the Gospel the differences of order are considerable.

If the common matter be arranged in groups it will be found that the order of events in these groups is the same in both Gospels, although the groups themselves in some cases occur in different positions.

Taking these groups in the order in which they occur in S. Mark :—

- (I.) i. 2-20. Preaching of John : Baptism and Temptation of Jesus : return to Galilee : call of first disciples.

- (II.) i. 29-34. Healing of Simon's wife's mother, and other cures at evening.
- (III.) ii. 1-22. Healing of the paralytic: call of Levi: eating with publicans and sinners: sayings on fasting.
- (IV.) ii. 23-iii. 12. Question of the Sabbath: general account of cures wrought by Jesus.
- (V.) iii. 22-iv. 20. Charge against Jesus of curing by diabolic agency: visit of His mother and brethren: sermon by the seaside.
- (VI.) iv. 30-34. Parable of the mustard seed: teaching in parables.
- (VII.) iv. 35-v. 17. Stilling of the storm: cure of the Gerasene demoniac.
- (VIII.) v. 21-43. Cure of Jairus's daughter and the woman with the issue of blood.

The bracketing of groups v. and vi., and vii. and viii. respectively, is to show that probably each of these pair of groups was originally one group, not two.

The order in which these groups occur in S. Matthew is, i., ii., vii., iii., viii., iv., v., vi. So that the difference of order, when carefully scrutinised, does not appear so great as it does at first sight.

It has been suggested that the reason for the differences of order is that the evangelists had, not one, but several common sources for this part of their work. It is, however, very unlikely that they would in this case have presented the striking verbal resemblances which are to be found in them; so that, if an explanation of the reasons why one or other of them should have altered the order of the common source can be found, there is no reason to assume that more than one source was employed.

Now, since in this part of the Gospel S. Matthew incorporates much matter not found in S. Mark, we are again faced with the question, Did S. Mark omit from, or S. Matthew add to, the common source? And here we may say that an abbreviator is far less likely to alter the order of the matter he is drawing from his authority than one who is expanding the narrative he finds in one source with matter drawn from another.

There is, then, a certain *a priori* probability that S. Mark preserves the original order rather than S. Matthew. What needs accounting for is the placing of two groups of narrative somewhat earlier in S. Matthew than in S. Mark.

A reason for this can easily be found in the general arrangement of S. Matthew's Gospel. After the preliminary account of the beginning of our Lord's Galilean ministry in Chapters iii. and iv., which agrees roughly with the order of S. Mark, he gives in Chapters v.-vii. the Sermon on the Mount, in which is probably collected together a considerable amount of Christ's teaching from various sources; then, in Chapters viii. and ix., follows a section devoted mainly to miracles, and it may well be that he has brought the miracles recorded in the two groups we are considering (vii., viii.) into close connection with other miracles intentionally.

Outside the groups, the only other serious difference of order in the narrative passages is concerned with the healing of the leper. This is placed by S. Matthew before, by S. Mark after, the healing of Simon's wife's mother. This may reasonably be accounted for as follows: traces of numerical arrangement, such as groups of three similar incidents put side by side, are frequent in S. Matthew; so it is not strange to find his account of Christ's miracles

begin with three bodily cures, two drawn from the common source and found also in S. Mark, one drawn from another source. Now, since in both S. Matthew and S. Mark a general account of Christ's healing work follows immediately after the healing of Simon's wife's mother, it would have been inconvenient to insert the cleansing of the leper here, and its transference to a slightly earlier place in the narrative is not hard to explain, since, when it has been so transferred, the narrative gains in symmetry, and S. Matthew's scheme is symmetrical rather than chronological. S. Matthew gives the names of the apostles earlier than S. Mark does, but in so doing he was probably influenced by the position in which he had placed the healing of Jairus's daughter; in S. Mark the mission of the Twelve follows not far after this event, and S. Matthew may have been led to transfer this episode to an earlier point linking it with the names of the Twelve. It is also possible that this transference may have been influenced by the use of a second source, for S. Matthew appears to have had more than one source for the commands given by Jesus to the Twelve, when He sent them forth preaching.

Those suggestions, of course, are only hypothetical; they are only intended to show that if the surmise that S. Matthew somewhat altered the order of the source be correct, he did it in such a way that it is still possible to guess at his reasons for doing it.

The brief sayings which occur in S. Mark iv. 21-25, between the parable of the Sower and that of the seed growing secretly, are not found in that context in S. Matthew. Most of them are found in other contexts in his Gospel, but in a sufficiently variant form to render it probable that he derived them from another source. We must next consider the matter found in S. Matthew,

Chapters iii. to xiii., to which S. Mark presents no parallels.

By far the greater part of this consists of parables and discourses, viz. v., vi., vii., the Sermon on the Mount ; xi. 7-30, a discourse ; x. 16-42, a discourse ; xiii. 24-30, 33, 37-52, parables (and the explanation of the parable of the tares) ; iii. 7-10, teaching of S. John Baptist.

The narrative portions of S. Matthew iii.-xiii. to which S. Mark affords no parallel are :—

- (I.) iii. 14-15. The Baptist's reluctance to baptize Jesus.
- (II.) iv. 2-11. Details of the Temptation.
- (III.) iv. 13. Christ's leaving Nazareth to dwell at Capernaum (but if we are correct in thinking that S. Matthew employed S. Mark's Gospel or a document very similar to it as one of his sources, this may only be an inference from its statements, not an historical statement independent of it).
- (IV.) viii. 5-13. Healing the centurion's servant.
viii. 18-22. The two men who wished to follow Jesus.
- (V.) ix. 32-34. Casting out a dumb devil.
- (VI.) xi. 1-6. The Baptist's message.
- (VII.) xii. 22-23. Healing of the man with a blind and dumb devil.

Here, as in the later part of the Gospel, the probability is that S. Matthew has added to, rather than S. Mark omitted from, the matter contained in the source. The chief reason for holding this is the greater amount of detail given by S. Mark in those passages which are common to both Gospels. A good instance of this is the healing of Jairus's daughter : in S. Matthew this is briefly narrated

in 90 words ; while in S. Mark it takes 188 words to tell. Further, it is easy enough to understand that a writer who was condensing should leave out explanatory details, but not that he should insert them. If we compare S. Matthew ix. 18 with S. Mark v. 22-23^b, we find the former saying, ' Behold there came a certain ruler and worshipped Him ' ; while the latter has, ' There cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name, and when he saw Him he fell at His feet and besought Him greatly, saying.' Is it not here obvious that S. Matthew's version of the incident is far more likely to be a contraction, than S. Mark's an expansion, of the original ? Indeed, the more carefully the whole passage is studied, the more apparent the greater primitiveness of S. Mark becomes ; and the same conclusion will be reached if we compare the narratives of the stilling of the storm, the healing of the Gerasene demoniac, and the death of S. John Baptist, as given in these two Gospels.

The results, then, arrived at by a comparison of the general contents and order of the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark are :—

I. That they are not wholly independent, but must in some way or other have relied upon a common source.

II. That it is highly probable that the contents of this source corresponded far more closely to the contents of S. Mark than to those of S. Matthew.

III. That the order of the source has probably been more nearly preserved in S. Mark than in S. Matthew.

IV. That the hypothesis that the common source was S. Mark's Gospel itself, or something hardly distinguishable from it, is not incompatible with the facts observed.

In the next section, in which we shall consider the verbal

relations of these two Gospels, we shall employ the fourth result we have arrived at as a working hypothesis.

The resemblance in actual wording, which is found in many parallel passages in S. Matthew and S. Mark, will be most clearly perceived if one or two instances are carefully examined. For this purpose we have selected the call of the first four disciples, and the incident of Jesus walking on the sea, and placed the narratives parallel to one another.

S. MARK I. 16-20.

And going along (παράγων) by the Sea of Galilee he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting (ἀμφιβάλλοντες) in the sea, for they were fishers; and Jesus said (εἶπεν) to them, Come after me and I will make you to become fishers of men.

And going forward a little he saw James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, and they in the ship mending the nets, and immediately he called them, and leaving their father in the ship with the hired servants, they went away after him (ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ).

S. MATTHEW IV. 18-22.

But walking along (περιπατῶν) by the Sea of Galilee he saw two brothers, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother casting a net (βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον) into the sea, for they were fishers, and he sayeth (λέγει) to them, Come after me and I will make you fishers of men.

And going forward thence he saw two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father mending their nets, and he called them, but they immediately, leaving the ship and their father, followed him (ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ).

We notice here that twice S. Matthew has 'but' (δέ) where S. Mark has 'and' (καί). His account as a whole is rather better balanced, *e.g.* the mention of 'two brothers' (in both cases missing from S. Mark). He substitutes a simpler expression, 'casting a net,' for S. Mark's more difficult and perhaps technical compound verb. He uses a different word for 'to say' (v. 19), and inserts 'immediately' at what may seem a more appropriate point than S. Mark does, and uses the more suitable word 'follow'

for S. Mark's awkward 'went away after.' On the other hand, it is S. Mark who inserts 'Jesus' as the subject (v. 17) where S. Matthew leaves the subject unnamed, though more usually S. Matthew inserts subjects unnamed by S. Mark.

The variations in this passage are not of such a nature as strongly to suggest that S. Matthew is altering S. Mark rather than *vice versa*, but we have quoted it merely to illustrate the general likeness of wording.

S. MARK VI. 45-48.

And immediately he constrained his disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before unto the other side to Bethsaida, while he sends away the multitude. And having taken leave of them he went away into the mountain to pray. And, evening being come, the boat was in the midst of the sea, and he was alone upon the land; and seeing them distressed in rowing, for the wind was contrary to them, about the fourth watch of the night he cometh to them walking on the sea (ἐντὶ with genitive).

S. MATTHEW XIV. 22-25.

And immediately he constrained the disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before him unto the other side while he should send away the multitude. And having sent away the multitudes he went up into the mountain apart to pray. But, evening being come, he was alone there. But the boat was distant already many furlongs from the land distressed by the waves for the wind was contrary; but in the fourth watch of the night he came to them walking over the sea (ἐπὶ with accusative).

The general likeness of wording here is remarkable; a few differences may be noted. We again find S. Matthew using 'but' (δέ) where S. Mark has 'and' (καί). As each watch of the night was of three hours' duration, S. Matthew's 'in' is a clear improvement on S. Mark's 'about.' Two other improvements are, 'should send away' (an aorist subjunctive) for 'sends away,' and 'came' for 'cometh,' while 'went up into' seems a more correct expression than 'went away into' when a mountain is referred to. These differences seem to point to S. Matthew's as the amended version of the narrative, and

to S. Mark's as the more primitive. The student would do well to examine a number of other parallel passages in the same way, noting carefully the exact verbal agreements and the nature of the differences.

Next must be noticed some passages in which the narrative of S. Mark seems confused, involved, or ambiguous, while that of S. Matthew is more direct and plain :—

I. S. MARK I. 32-34.

S. MATTHEW VIII. 16.

But evening being come, when the sun set, they were bringing to him all the sick and the possessed (and the whole city was gathered together to the door), and he healed many sick of divers diseases and cast out many devils.

But evening being come they brought to him many possessed and he cast out the spirits by a word and he healed all the sick.

Here the narrative of S. Matthew is terser and clearer ; he avoids the tautology of S. Mark, omits the parenthesis (v. 33), and by a slight alteration gets rid of the statement, which might jar on Christian ears, that when *all* the sick were brought to Jesus, He healed *many*. Such a statement might seem to limit our Lord's power or His mercy. It is easy enough to account for the differences, if we regard S. Matthew's version as an adaptation of S. Mark ; it is hardly conceivable that a writer with S. Matthew's narrative before him should have enlarged it into such a statement as S. Mark's (cf. S. Mark vi. 5 ; iii. 10).

II. S. MARK II. 19.

S. MATTHEW IX. 15.

Can the sons of the bride chamber fast while the bridegroom is with them? so long time as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast.

Can the sons of the bride chamber mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them?

Again S. Matthew avoids the tautology and repetition of S. Mark. It has been suggested that S. Mark here

preserves two different Greek versions of one Aramaic saying, but since we find that S. Matthew is constantly compressing and elucidating S. Mark, this is probably the explanation here, especially as the form of the saying in S. Matthew seems to preserve touches of both the Marcan forms. If, then, S. Mark does here preserve two versions of the same saying, they probably both stood in his Gospel when S. Matthew used it.

III. S. MARK III. 13-16.

And he called whom he would and they went away to him: and he made twelve, whom also he named apostles, that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach and to have authority to cast out the demons. And he made the twelve and placed a name upon Simon, Peter, etc.

S. MATTHEW X. 1-2.

And having called his twelve disciples, he gave them authority over unclean spirits so as to cast them out, and to heal every disease and every infirmity. But the names of the twelve apostles are these, first Simon, who is called Peter.

S. Matthew is lucid, grammatical, precise, while S. Mark is involved, tautological, and awkward. S. Mark's account adds practically no information that is not contained in S. Matthew's, so cannot reasonably be explained as an awkward fusing of two accounts. Here it may be remarked that there are always, *a priori*, two possible explanations of such repetitions as we find here ('He made twelve' . . . 'He made the twelve'): (a) that they point to the fusion of two sources; but to render this explanation probable, some signs of information likely to have been derived from the supposed second source should be discoverable in the passage; (b) that repetition is a trick of the author's style. Such repetition is one of the commonest characteristics of a non-literary style in all languages, and to assume that it necessarily denotes a fusion of two or more sources

in a book so un-literary in its style as S. Mark, is hazardous in the extreme.

In this case it is, of course, impossible to prove that S. Matthew's wording is an adaptation of S. Mark's. All we can say with certainty is, that if a writer with any sense of style had before him S. Mark's words, 'He made the twelve and placed a name upon Simon,' we should expect him to alter them, and the words, 'but the names of the twelve apostles are these, first Simon,' which we find in S. Matthew, are just the sort of literary sentence we should expect to find substituted for S. Mark's colloquial one. Now this is all that we are trying to show at the present point, viz. that many apparently important differences of wording between S. Matthew and S. Mark can be explained as simply literary improvements effected by S. Matthew, and need no further explanation.

IV. S. MARK IX. 4.

S. MATTHEW XVII. 3.

And there appeared to them
Moses with Elijah, and they were
talking to Jesus.

And behold there appeared to
them Moses and Elijah talking
with him.

S. Mark's statement as it stands is ambiguous; the unnamed persons talking might, grammatically, be the three disciples. By a slight change S. Matthew makes it plain that Moses and Elijah are intended.

The amending of ambiguous, awkward, and tautological statements is a probable sign of literary dependence, and such apparent emendations are found in S. Matthew, as the four cases examined above prove.

Another indication of dependence is the replacing of inappropriate words and phrases by more suitable ones; instances of this may be found in S. Matthew. In S. Mark xi. 2 and 7, the word used for 'bringing' (*φέρω*), 'lose him and bring him,' 'they bring,' is hardly suitable for 'lead-

ing' an animal; S. Matthew in both cases has the more appropriate word 'lead' (ἄγω). In i. 5 the awkward phrase, 'He was baptized into the Jordan,' is replaced by the more elegant 'to the Jordan to be baptized.' S. Mark often uses a compound verb followed by the same preposition, *e.g.* 'he went in into' (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς) or 'he went out out of' (ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ). (See i. 25; v. 13; vii. 31; ix. 43). In most cases S. Matthew alters the wording to avoid this. A double negative, which often occurs in S. Mark (i. 44; iii. 27; ix. 8), is in a number of cases removed in S. Matthew.

We have already noted the use of parentheses in narrative as characteristic of S. Mark. A few, not found in the parallel passages in S. Matthew, may be noted here:—

- i. 33. 'And the whole city was gathered together to the door.'
- ii. 15. 'For they were many and they followed Him.'
- viii. 7. 'And they had a few little fishes.' Here in v. 3 S. Mark reads, 'How many loaves have ye?' but they said 'Seven'; while S. Matthew xv. 34 reads, 'How many loaves have ye?' but they said, 'Seven, and a few little fishes.' It seems obvious that in this case S. Matthew is transferring into the answer of the apostles the information conveyed lower down by S. Mark in a parenthesis.
- viii. 14. 'And except one loaf they had not with them in the ship.' This S. Matthew omits; it qualifies the general statement of the previous verse: 'They had forgotten to take bread.' A similar case, of first making a general negative statement, and then qualifying it by an exception, may be found in S. Mark v. 37 and 40: 'He did not allow anybody to follow

with Him except Peter and James and John . . . but casting them all out, He takes the father and mother of the child and those who were with Him' (cf. S. Luke viii. 51).

There are two cases in which S. Matthew gives details not found in the parallel passages in S. Mark, which may be readily explained on the hypothesis that they are reminiscences of other kindred passages in the Second Gospel. In S. Matthew xiv. 5 it is stated that Herod, when he wished to kill John, 'feared the multitude, because they held him as a prophet.' The parallel in S. Mark vi. 19-20 has no such statement, which may, however, be derived from S. Mark xi. 32: 'They feared the multitude, for all held John that he was really a prophet.'

S. Matthew ix. 20 says that the woman with the issue of blood 'touched the hem of His garment'; the parallel in S. Mark v. 27 lacks the word 'hem,' but the complete phrase occurs in S. Mark vi. 56.

Next we give a number of minor variations, which, though by themselves no proof that S. Matthew used and amended S. Mark's narrative, are quite compatible with that hypothesis, and, taken in conjunction with the other indications of the dependence of S. Matthew, are in favour of it. S. Mark rarely uses the word 'then' (τότε), and never uses it at all in narrative passages; S. Matthew uses it twenty-one times in narrative passages, where it is not found in S. Mark.

S. Matthew frequently inserts the subject of a verb where it is only implied, not expressed, in S. Mark. Especially does he insert the name Jesus; of this insertion I have counted twenty-one instances. On the other

hand, there are a few cases in which S. Mark inserts the name Jesus where S. Matthew has not got it ; these are, i. 17, but S. Matthew has mentioned our Lord by name two verses earlier, which renders the repetition unnecessary here ; xiv. 62, but S. Matthew inserts the name in the next verse, where it is lacking in S. Mark ; and xv. 5, but S. Matthew has inserted it twice two verses earlier, where S. Mark has not got it.

The use of the historic present is a noticeable feature in S. Mark ; in S. Matthew it is far less frequently employed, a participle or a verb in the past tense taking its place.

The word ' behold ' (ἴδου), which is of very frequent occurrence in S. Matthew, both in discourse and narrative, is never used in narrative by S. Mark. S. Matthew many times substitutes ' but ' (δέ) for S. Mark's ' and ' (καί).

The two words ' straightway ' (εὐθύς) and ' again ' (πάλιν), which are of frequent occurrence in S. Mark, are used far more sparingly in narrative by S. Matthew.

The word ' Lord ' (κύριε), which in S. Matthew occurs frequently as a title by which people address Jesus, is so used only once in S. Mark.

All the Aramaic sayings quoted in S. Mark (' Rabbi,' ' Talitha Cumi,' ' Ephphatha,' etc.), save Christ's word on the Cross (' Eloi, Eloi, lama Sabbachthani '), are lacking in S. Matthew.

The phrase ' He began to ' (ἤρξατο), followed by an infinitive, which is very common in S. Mark, is far less common in S. Matthew, who in many places substitutes a verb in the past tense for it.

Again, S. Matthew frequently uses a participle when S. Mark has ' and ' followed by a finite verb. In all these cases the language of S. Matthew is easily explained as an improvement on that of S. Mark, which renders it far

more probable that S. Matthew is adapting S. Mark's narrative than *vice versa*.

Next, a number of passages must be examined in which the meaning of two parallel passages is not quite the same, to see whether the difference of meaning can be reasonably and probably explained on the supposition that S. Matthew is merely amending S. Mark's wording.

In S. Mark ii. 12 we read that the paralytic, when healed, 'went out before them all'; in the parallel verse in S. Matthew ix. 7, we find, 'went away to his own house'; but this change can at once be explained as an adaptation of the narrative so as to make the man exactly obey the command of Jesus given in the previous verse, 'Go to thine house.'

In S. Mark v. 21-43, we read that Jairus came to Jesus saying that his daughter was 'very ill' (ἐσχάτως ἔχει); while our Lord is on His way messengers come saying that the girl has died: in S. Matthew ix. 18-26 the narrative is much condensed; the mention of the messengers is wholly omitted, and Jairus says at the beginning that his daughter is 'just dead.' In view of the other passages we have considered, it seems likely that here also S. Matthew's alteration is due, not to independent information, but to the manner in which he has re-moulded the narrative.

S. MARK VI. 5 and 6.

And he could not there do any mighty work, except having laid his hands on a few sick he healed them. And he was marvelling because of their unbelief.

S. MATTHEW XIII. 58.

And he did not there many mighty works because of their unbelief.

Here we find S. Matthew, as usual, lacking the parenthetical addition with which S. Mark follows a general

statement, and by the alteration he makes avoids the apparent irreverence of saying that Jesus 'could not' do something; while finally, he makes plain what is probably implied by S. Mark, that the unbelief of the Nazarenes was the cause which prevented our Lord from doing mighty works on this occasion. It seems almost inconceivable that if the narrative had originally stood at all in the form in which it appears in S. Matthew, any one could have altered it to the form in which it is given by S. Mark.

In S. Mark vi. 17-29 we find the blame for the death of John Baptist put wholly on Herodias; she it is who wishes to kill him, while Herod apparently regards him with awe and respect. S. Matthew xiv. 5 makes it Herod himself who wishes to kill John, but in the ninth verse he preserves S. Mark's statement that Herod was grieved at Salome's request for the Baptist's head. This seems inconsistent with S. Matthew's statement that Herod wished to kill him, so that, as in this passage, S. Matthew is again condensing, it is probable that the change in the sense which he introduces is due to his endeavour to tell the story briefly. In verse 6 he makes it clear that Salome was Herodias's daughter, and not, as we might have supposed from S. Mark's wording, Herod's.

The most interesting and curious case of all is S. Mark vi. 30=S. Matthew xiv. 12^b. In S. Mark we read, 'And the apostles were gathered together to Jesus, and told Him all things whatsoever they had done and taught.' Here it is clear that S. Mark has given the account of John Baptist's death in a parenthesis between the sending out of the Twelve (vi. 12) and their return (vi. 30). In the parallel passage in S. Matthew we read, 'And coming they told Jesus,' the speakers being the disciples of John,

and what they announced his execution. Here we have the curious phenomenon of similar words occurring at the same point in two parallel narratives referring to two wholly different things. The literary connection of the two passages will be seen if they are placed side by side :

S. MARK VI. 29-32.

His disciples came and took up the corpse and placed it in a tomb. And the apostles were gathered together to Jesus and told him all whatsoever they had done and taught, and he said to them, Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place and rest a little, for many were coming and going and they had not leisure even to eat ; and they went away in a ship into a desert place apart.

S. MATTHEW XIV. 12-13.

And having come his disciples took up the corpse and buried it, and coming told Jesus

but Jesus hearing departed then in a ship into a desert place apart.

The literary connection between the two passages is as clear as their conflict as to matters of fact. If this instance were unparalleled, there would be no reason to prefer the statement of S. Mark to that of S. Matthew ; but since, as we have seen, there are a number of cases in which slight disagreements as to fact can be best explained by the assumption that S. Matthew is altering and adapting S. Mark's narrative, there is a certain presumption in favour of this affording the true solution here.

The following facts may be noted : (1) S. Matthew, though he records the sending out of the Twelve, does not give any account of their return : this, on the assumption that he used S. Mark, is easily accounted for by the fact that S. Mark inserts the death of the Baptist between their going forth and their return ; (2) as S. Matthew has placed the sending forth of the Twelve at an earlier point in his Gospel, an account of their return at this point would

be wholly out of place; (3) it is possible that S. Mark vi. 31 may be a later addition (for S. Luke has nothing parallel to it), and S. Matthew may have thought that S. Mark intended to imply that the Baptist's death was the cause of Jesus' withdrawal into the desert place (*e.g.* S. Mark i. 14), because of the point in his narrative at which he has inserted the account of the Baptist's death. Against this supposition, however, is the fact that S. Luke in no way connects the withdrawal of Jesus with the death of John.

On the whole, the most probable explanation seems to be that in using this section of S. Mark (vi. 14-xii. 29), which he reproduces continuously, with only slight additions from other sources, he came upon the statement about the return of the apostles (vi. 30-31), which he was compelled to omit because he had placed their sending forth at an earlier point in his Gospel, and therefore connected up the death of John with the feeding of the 5000 with as little dislocation and alteration of S. Mark's order as possible. If we bear in mind Professor Sanday's suggestion that in using a roll-book the evangelist would not have it open before his eyes all the time, but would read over a paragraph, or at any rate, several lines at a time, and transfer them to his own book before referring to his source again, we shall see that the explanation just given of the phenomena of this difficult passage is far from improbable. But perhaps the strongest argument in favour of this explanation is the difficulties raised by any other.

Another small but important variation occurs in S. Mark x. 18=S. Matthew xix. 17; the former makes Jesus say to the man with great possessions, 'Why callest thou Me good?' while S. Matthew has, 'Why askest thou Me

concerning the good ? ' and makes the question run, ' Master, what good thing shall I do ? ' whereas S. Mark has, ' Good Master, what shall I do ? ' S. Matthew's alteration of the words of Jesus is easily explained ; as they stand in S. Mark they might be held to imply that Jesus did not regard Himself as good. Having altered the answer, S. Matthew would naturally alter the question to fit it.

In S. Matthew xx. 20, the request that James and John should sit on our Lord's right and left hand is made by their mother ; in S. Mark x. 35 by the disciples themselves. The reply of Jesus (S. Matthew x. 22), ' Ye know not what ye ask,' seems conclusively to prove that S. Matthew's statement is only an alteration of S. Mark's, made, perhaps, out of reverence for the apostles.

In S. Mark xi. 3, the words, ' Immediately he will send him back here,' seem to be part of the message which our Lord commands the two disciples to give to the owner of the colt ; in S. Matthew the words appear to be Christ's prediction of what the owner of the colt will do, for S. Matthew xxi. 3 contains only the words, ' But immediately he will send him.' If the interpretation suggested is correct, it is a clear case of an alteration affecting the meaning of the passage with regard to a matter of fact. The general dependence of the passage in S. Matthew on that in S. Mark seems highly probable.

The suggestion of Professor Sanday quoted above in connection with S. Mark vi. 29-32, will probably explain the alteration in S. Matthew here ; it is just the sort of change which a writer, with the words of the document he was copying before his mind but not actually before his eyes, would be likely to make.

In recording S. Peter's second denial, S. Mark (xiv. 69)

says it was 'the maid' (*i.e.* apparently the one mentioned above, v. 66); S. Matthew (xxvi. 71) has 'another.'

S. Mark xv. 36=S. Matthew xxvii. 48 is an interesting instance. The former has: 'One . . . gave Him to drink, saying, Let ye me alone ($\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$); let us see if Elias will take Him down.' Here it is the man who gives the drink who bids others to let Him alone: in S. Matthew we read, 'One . . . gave Him to drink, but the rest said, Let thou Him alone ($\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\varsigma$); let us see if Elias will save Him.' Here it is the by-standers who tell the man to let Jesus alone. In the former case the concluding words seem to be meant sincerely, in the latter sarcastically. The difference of meaning between the two passages is great; the difference of wording is slight; and it is not hard to see how S. Matthew, by making a little variation of wording, has changed the sense.

In S. Mark xv. 43, Joseph of Arimathea is described as an honourable ($\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$) councillor, and as one who was expecting the kingdom of God: S. Matthew xxvii. 57 calls him a rich man, who also himself was a disciple of Jesus. Here the latter statements are quite explicable as inferences from the former.

The weight of the argument derived from these and similar cases is, of course, cumulative. It may be briefly stated thus: Since in a number of passages of S. Matthew's Gospel, which exhibit such close resemblances to S. Mark that literary connection is obvious, there are variations affecting the sense which can readily be explained as alterations of, or inferences from, S. Mark's narrative, and cannot readily be explained as derived from another written source, the probability of the dependence of S. Matthew upon S. Mark, suggested by their general

agreement in matter, order, and wording, is greatly increased.

The comparison, then, of these two Gospels, without taking into account their relations with S. Luke, has led us to the conclusion that the explanation which best fits the facts is that S. Matthew employed as one of his sources either S. Mark, or a document hardly distinguishable from it.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOSPELS OF S. MARK AND S. LUKE COMPARED

THE amount of matter common to S. Mark and S. Luke, although considerable, is not so great as that common to S. Mark and S. Matthew.

It is not evenly distributed throughout S. Luke's Gospel, but is found chiefly, if not wholly, in Chapters iii.-ix. and xviii.-xxiv.

It will, then, be most convenient to compare these two sections separately with the corresponding portions of S. Mark, and afterwards to consider the apparent traces of the use of Marcan matter in the central portion of S. Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14). In the first section, S. Mark's matter is contained in 363 verses, of which about 204 have parallels in S. Luke ; this common matter is, however, given more briefly in S. Luke, as it occupies only 162 verses. With the exception of one brief episode (the coming of Christ's mother and brethren), the incidents are given in the same order in both Gospels.

The passages in this portion of S. Mark to which S. Luke affords no parallel of any kind are :—

- (I.) i. 5-6. The Baptist's food and clothing.
- (II.) i. 14^b-15. Preaching in Galilee.
- (III.) i. 16-20. Call of first four disciples.
- (IV.) iii. 20-21. Attempt to restrain Jesus.
- (V.) iv. 26-29. Parable of seed growing secretly.
- (VI.) iv. 33-34. Teaching in parables.

- (vii.) vi. 1-6. Visit to Nazareth.
- (viii.) vi. 17-29. Death of the Baptist.
- (ix.) vi. 45-viii. 26. (Section including visit to Phoenicia).
- (x.) viii. 32, 33. Rebuke of S. Peter.
- (xi.) ix. 9-13. Descent from Mount of Transfiguration.

In addition to these there are several passages, *e.g.* S. Mark i. 1-5 ; iii. 7-12, 22-30 ; vi. 12, 13, in which the differences between the two evangelists is sufficiently great to suggest that S. Mark and S. Luke were not drawing from the same source.

With regard to two of the passages, viz. iii. and vii., the circumstances are rather peculiar.

S. Luke omits the call of the first four disciples as given in S. Matthew and S. Mark, but gives an account of the call of S. Peter, S. James, and S. John, obviously derived from some other source (v. 1-11). He also omits the account of the visit to Nazareth (S. Mark vi. 1-6), but at an earlier point in his Gospel he has given an account of a visit to Nazareth clearly independent of this.

It seems likely, then, that these two passages may have stood in the common source as used by S. Luke, but were omitted by him because he preferred another version of the same incidents found by him in another source.

We see, then, that in this section nearly two-thirds of the matter contained in S. Mark is reproduced in S. Luke, while of the remaining third, seventy-five verses belong to one long passage which he omits altogether.

Now, since all the common matter, with the exception of one incident, is in the same order in both Gospels, the use of a common source is evident.

Next, the matter found in S. Luke but not in S. Mark must be considered.

This falls into two categories, that to which S. Matthew presents parallels, and that to which he does not. To the former class belong :—

- (I.) iii. 7-9, 17. Teaching of the Baptist.
- (II.) iv. 2-12. Details of the Temptation.
- (III.) vi. 20-49. Sermon on the plain.
- (IV.) vii. 1-9. Healing of the centurion's servant.
- (V.) vii. 18-35. Message of the Baptist.

To the latter class :—

- (I.) iii. 10-15. Details of the Baptist's teaching.
- (II.) iv. 16-30. Visit to Nazareth.
- (III.) v. 3-11. Draught of fishes.
- (IV.) vii. 11-17. Widow of Nain's son.
- (V.) vii. 36-50. The anointing in Simon's house.
- (VI.) viii. 1-3. The ministering women.

Now these last six passages are hardly likely to have been part of the common source, for it is highly improbable that had the graphic narratives of the visit to Nazareth and the draught of fishes, as given by S. Luke, stood in the source used by S. Matthew and S. Mark, they would have omitted them, and inserted the far less striking accounts, which they give of the same or similar incidents.

But if these six passages were derived from some other source, there is little difficulty in supposing that the first five were also.

On the whole, then, as far as the first section of S. Luke is concerned, it is probable that he only derived that matter from the common source, which is found also in S. Mark.

Next, the concluding section of S. Luke (xviii. 15-xxiv. 8) must be considered in relation to S. Mark (x. 13-

xvi. 8). Of the 281 verses contained in this portion of S. Mark, about 188 have parallels in S. Luke.

The portions to which S. Luke affords no parallels are :—

- (I.) x. 35-45. The request of James and John.
- (II.) xi. 11. Departure to Bethany.
- (III.) xi. 12-14, 19-26. The barren fig-tree, etc.
- (IV.) xii. 28-34. The scribe's question.
- (V.) xiii. 3, 10, 18, 20-23, 27, 32-37. Parts of eschatological discourse.
- (VI.) xiv. 3-9. Anointing at Bethany.
- (VII.) xiv. 27-29 and 31. Peter's confidence, etc.
- (VIII.) xiv. 39-42. Further details of the agony.
- (IX.) xiv. 46, 50-52. Further details of the arrest.
- (X.) xiv. 53-64. Trial before the High Priest.
- (XI.) xv. 1, 3-5, 10-12. Further details of trial before Pilate.
- (XII.) xv. 16-20^a. Mockery by Pilate's soldiers.
- (XIII.) xv. 34-37. 'Eloi, Eloi,' etc.
- (XIV.) xv. 42. 'It was the preparation,' etc.
- (XV.) xv. 44-45. Pilate's wonder that Jesus was dead.

Now, since the common matter is given for the most part in the same order, it may clearly be regarded as most probably derived from a common source; but the question whether the matter found in this portion of S. Mark, but not in S. Luke, belonged to the common source also, is less easy to determine. In three cases, the anointing at Bethany, the scribe's question, and the mockery by Pilate's soldiers, S. Luke's omission of them, even if he found them in his source, could be easily explained by the fact that he gives similar incidents elsewhere, viz. the anointing in the Pharisee's house, the conversation leading to the parable of the good Samaritan, and the mockery

by Herod and his soldiers. On the other hand, the anointing at Bethany can so easily be detached from S. Mark without disturbing the narrative that it might well be a later insertion there.

The passage which most strongly favours the view that the source contained all or most of the passages found in S. Mark but not in S. Luke, is S. Mark xiv. 28 : ' After that I am risen I will go before you into Galilee ' (cf. S. Mark xvi. 7 : ' Tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee : there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you '). From this it seems evident that S. Mark's source contained an account of a meeting of Christ and the disciples in Galilee after the resurrection ; but of such a meeting S. Luke knows nothing ; indeed, the narrative of S. Luke xxiv. seems almost to exclude it. Further, we notice that S. Luke has many details of the passion and accounts of resurrection appearances peculiar to himself which render it practically certain that for this part of his history he used a second narrative other than the common source.

As he has preferred this second source for the events subsequent to the resurrection, it is only natural that he should omit such a verse as S. Mark xiv. 28, which seems to conflict with the second source.

Now if it is highly probable, as it seems to be, that S. Luke omits one verse (S. Mark xiv. 28) which was found in the source, and if plausible reasons can be given, as they have been, for his omission of several other passages, it becomes somewhat probable that throughout this section it is S. Luke who is omitting, not S. Mark who is interpolating. But if this is so, it also becomes somewhat probable that in the first section also the same explanation will hold good, and that we shall be justified in attributing

to the common source much, if not all, of the matter found in S. Mark but lacking in S. Luke.

The matter found in S. Luke in this section, but not in S. Mark, is for the most part peculiar to him, having parallels in S. Matthew only in a few cases. It may safely be concluded that he did not derive it from the common source. It will have to be considered in the chapter dealing with the composition of S. Luke's Gospel, and so need not detain us now.

There remains the long section in the middle of S. Mark (vi. 45-viii. 26), which is lacking in S. Luke. This presents one of the most intricate problems of Gospel criticism. In favour of the view that it stood in the source is the fact that there is some balance of probability on the side of the view that S. Luke omitted matter found in the source which S. Mark has preserved; against it is the fact that all S. Luke's other omissions are only brief passages. It is, however, noteworthy that several of the incidents recorded in this section of S. Mark are similar to incidents recorded elsewhere in the Gospels; thus, the walking on the sea resembles the stilling of the storm; the healing of the Syrophoenician woman's daughter, that of the centurion's servant (both are cures wrought at a distance; both for a Gentile; both exhibit a Gentile's faith and Christ's approbation of it); the feeding of the 4000 and that of the 5000, again, are very similar. Now S. Luke, as a rule, does not include narratives of similar events (*e.g.* he omits the anointing at Bethany, having given that in the Pharisee's house; he omits the Marcan narrative of the visit of Jesus to Nazareth, having given another one from another source), so he may have omitted this section, because much of it is similar to other parts of the Gospel. Again, it is possible that in one of his other

sources he may have found such an arrangement of the order of events as made it difficult for him to insert this long Marcan section at this point. The indications which point in this direction are as follows :—

S. Luke ix. 10-11, which immediately precede the feeding of the 5000, seem not only to be independent of, but discrepant from, the parallel verses in S. Mark, as will be seen if the two are compared ; while S. Luke's statement (v. 10) that Jesus went into a city called Bethsaida is out of keeping with the statement in v. 12 that they were in a desert place.

S. MARK VI. 32-34.

And they went away in the ship into a desert place *privately* and many saw them going, and knew them, and on foot they ran together there from all the cities and came before them ; and going out he saw a great multitude, and had compassion upon them because they were as sheep having not a shepherd, and he began to teach them much.

S. LUKE IX. 10-11.

And taking them he departed *privately* into a city called Bethsaida. But the multitudes knowing followed him, and having received them he spoke to them about the kingdom of God, and healed those that had need of healing.

Our suggestion is that these verses in S. Luke are derived from the same source as S. Luke viii. 1-3, and ix. 28, and that in that source these three passages stood in close proximity. If this supposition be correct, S. Luke will here be fitting into the matter drawn from his other source so much of S. Mark as he has a use for and no more. For a full discussion of S. Luke's non-Markan source see Chapter VIII. But whether this supposition be correct or not, the absence of this matter from S. Luke is not sufficient proof that it is a later insertion in S. Mark. This point must be decided on the internal evidence. The

strongest point in favour of its being a later insertion is that the feeding of the 4000 looks like a 'doublet' narrative of the feeding of the 5000, and is regarded as such by many critics.

Now, though the frequent occurrence of doublets is an almost certain sign of the composite origin of a work, and the frequent occurrence of similar narratives is strong evidence that some are doublets of others, it does not follow that the occurrence of two similar events in the same narrative is always due to the fact that they are doublet accounts of one event.

In S. Mark doublets, if they exist at all, are rare, and the only doublet narrative to be found is the one under discussion. It is therefore rash to conclude hastily that the feeding of the 4000 is a doublet of the feeding of the 5000, though possibly it may be one. Even if it is, it does not follow that it, and the section in which it occurs, were absent from S. Mark's Gospel when S. Luke used it. The section may be divided conveniently into seven portions :—

- i. S. Mark vi. 45-56. The walking on the sea, and the landing at Gennesaret.

In this portion we notice the following Marcan traits : the use of 'immediately' (three times), the historic present (twice), 'his' with the word 'disciples,' 'when evening was come,' 'hardened,' 'beds,' (*κραβάττοις*), 'sick' (*κάκως έχόντας*). On the other hand, several words and expressions not used elsewhere in S. Mark are found here : 'having bidden farewell' (*ἀποταξάμενος*), 'about' (used of time : *περί* with the accusative), 'to pass by' (*παρελθεῖν* ; elsewhere S. Mark uses this word in the sense of 'to pass away'), 'they thought' (*ἔδοξαν*), 'he spake with' (*ἐλάλησεν*

μετά), 'considered' (συνῆκαν ἐπί), 'anchored,' 'ran round,' 'to carry round,' 'wherever' (ὅπου ἄν with the imperfect).

Now some of these words present no difficulty, for in almost every passage of similar length one finds some words not used elsewhere in the Gospel, and a mere counting of rare words is a most delusive test. It will be well, then, to examine each of these unusual words or expressions separately, for they are only of value to show the non-Markan character of this passage, if S. Mark elsewhere expresses exactly the same idea in another way:—

- (1) 'To bid farewell.' S. Mark nowhere else has the idea expressed.
- (2) 'About' (of time). Not expressed elsewhere in S. Mark.
- (3) 'To pass by.' Elsewhere in S. Mark this word means rather 'to pass away'; the nearest usage to the present one is in xiv. 35: 'that this hour might pass away from Him.' S. Mark uses another word of similar import three times (παράγειν—i. 16; ii. 14; xv. 21), but in none of these cases is the idea of '*a wish to avoid*' implied, as it seems to be here.
- (4) 'They thought' (i.e. 'supposed'). S. Mark nowhere else expresses this idea.
- (5) 'Spake with.' In one other place S. Mark expresses this idea (ix. 4), where he uses the compound verb συλλαλεῖν—'they were talking with Jesus.'
- (6) 'Considered.' In four places S. Mark uses this verb, but always intransitively; never elsewhere, with the thing to be understood expressed. Here also it is intransitive, but the thing not understood is expressed.

- (7) 'Anchored' }
 (8) 'Ran round' } found here only in S. Mark.
 (9) 'Carry round' }
 (10) 'Wherever' is found several times elsewhere in S. Mark, but always with a verb in the subjunctive. In none of these, however, is the meaning exactly the same as here; here it is a fact that is being dealt with, in the other cases a contingency.

None of these ten peculiarities separately, nor all of them collectively, really afford strong evidence against the Marcan authorship of this passage. This will be seen more clearly if a passage of similar length from another part of the Gospel be submitted to the same tests. I take at random ii. 23-iii. 6 (the Sabbath controversy). Here we find the following words and phrases not found elsewhere in S. Mark:—'to go through,' 'cornfields,' 'plucking,' 'in the time of' (*ἐπὶ* with the genitive), 'to watch' (*παρατηρεῖν*), 'to do good,' 'to do evil,' 'to be grieved' (*συλλυπεῖσθαι*), 'hardness,' 'they took counsel' (*συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν*), 'that' (*ὅπως*, though *ἵνα* is very frequent in this Gospel).

This list is just as striking as that of the peculiarities of S. Mark vi. 45-56; so that, in the face of the general similarity of style there to the rest of the Gospel, we conclude that the number of unusual words and expressions is about what may be expected.

In the remaining passages of this section we shall only note a few of the most striking peculiarities, and not attempt to give either a complete list of these or of the strikingly Marcan touches.

- (ii.) vii. 1-23. Discussion on Jewish customs. The word 'like' (*παρόμοια*), which occurs twice in this

passage, is not found elsewhere in the New Testament.

- (III.) vii. 24-37. Healing of Syrophoenician's daughter and of the deaf man. Here only in S. Mark is the word 'Lord' (κύριε) addressed by any one to Jesus.
- (IV.) viii. 1-10. Feeding of the 4000.¹
- (V.) viii. 11, 12, 13, 15. The demand for a sign.
- (VI.) viii. 14, 16-21. Warnings against the 'leaven of the Pharisees.'
- (VII.) viii. 22-26. Healing of the blind man.

In this classification the divisions of Dr. Stanton (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*) have been adopted. He regards (III.), (V.), (VII.) as part of the original Gospel of S. Mark, but the other four as later insertions.

Looking at the section as a whole, the evidence of style and diction strongly favours the view that it comes from the same author as the rest of the Gospel; the presence of most of it in S. Matthew shows that, if an insertion, it must be a very early one.

It is worth noticing that the passage which is most open to suspicion in this section, the feeding of the 4000, has one peculiarly Marcan characteristic, a peculiarity not of wording or grammar, but of the structure of the narrative. I refer to the way in which the mention of the fishes is introduced, after the account of the distribution of the bread is complete; this involves a certain amount of repetition, and is in the manner of one telling rather than writing a story. A similar repetition is found in the account of the healing of Jairus's daughter, where, after saying

¹ See appended note, p. 75.

that He 'allowed no one to follow with Him save Peter and James and John,' it is added a little lower down: 'He takes the father and mother of the child and those that were with Him.' A peculiarity of manner in narration such as this appears to me a weightier proof of authorship than mere superficial peculiarities of wording.

On the whole, then, it seems more probable that S. Luke omitted this section of S. Mark than that it was absent from the copy of the second Gospel used by him. And when we come to deal in another chapter with S. Luke's second source, it will be seen that throughout the later part of his Gospel, at any rate, S. Luke relied far more on his other source than on S. Mark, employing the latter chiefly to supplement the former.

On the other hand, we have to consider the long section in S. Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14), which contains over three hundred and fifty verses, or nearly one-third of the whole Gospel, to which S. Mark presents but few parallels, about thirty verses in all.

For this section it is clear that S. Luke did not use S. Mark as his chief source. The real question is, Did he here use him at all? or were the passages in this portion of S. Luke, to which S. Mark appears to present parallels, really derived from some other source?

As the question is an important one it will be well to give a list of the passages.

I.	S. Luke xi.	15	=	S. Mark iii.	22.	'He casts out demons in Beelzebub.'
II.	„	16	=	„	viii. 11-13.	They ask a sign.
III.	„	17, 18	=	„	iii. 23-26.	'Every kingdom divided against itself.'
IV.	„	21, 22	=	„	iii. 27.	Similitude of the strong man.
V.	„	33	=	„	iv. 21.	A lamp not hidden.

VI.	S. Luke	xi.	43	=	S. Mark	xii.	38,39.	Woe to the Pharisees.
VII.	„	xii.	1	=	„	viii.	15.	‘Beware of the leaven of Pharisees.’
VIII.	„		2	=	„	iv.	22.	Nothing is hid.
IX.	„		10	=	„	iii.	28-30.	Saying on blasphemy.
X.	„		11, 12	=	„	xiii.	11.	‘Ye shall be taught what to say.’
XI.	„	xiii.	18-21	=	„	iv.	30-32.	Parable of mustard seed.
XII.	„	xiv.	34	=	„	ix.	50.	‘Salt is good,’ etc.
XIII.	„	xvi.	18	=	„	x.	12.	Saying on divorce.
XIV.	„	xvii.	1, 2	=	„	ix.	42.	Saying on offences.
XV.	„		5, 6	=	„	xi.	22,23.	Saying on faith.
XVI.	„		23	=	„	xiii.	21.	‘Lo here; lo there.’
XVII.	„		31	=	„		15,16.	‘Let him that is on the housetop not come down.’

Elsewhere in the Gospels there is generally close agreement between S. Mark and S. Luke in the order in which they arrange their common matter; here no such agreement is discoverable. This alone is a piece of evidence of some weight against the view that the apparently common matter in this section was drawn by both from the same source.

The matter, for the most part, consists of sayings of Jesus, and for these it is obvious that S. Luke used other authorities besides the one employed also by S. Mark.

In three cases, viz. v., vi., and viii., S. Luke has a similar saying (*i.e.* a doublet) in the same context as S. Mark has it, which is strong evidence that he found these sayings both in the common source and in another source as well; it also renders it highly probable that, when he gives the saying a second time in a different context from S. Mark, he is drawing it, not from the common source, but from another. In four cases, viz. i., ii., xiii., xv., S. Matthew preserves the saying twice over, so that here again S. Luke's

authority is likely to have been the second source used by S. Matthew, or a source akin to it, not the common one used by S. Mark also.

In five more cases, viz. III., IV., IX., X., XVI., the differences of wording are so considerable as to suggest that the saying was derived by S. Luke from a different source. There remain, then, only five cases which need be separately considered, viz. VII., XI., XII., XIV., XVII.

VII. S. Luke xii. 1=S. Mark viii. 15. 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.' Here the only thing common is the words, 'leaven of the Pharisees.' The saying is so short that it might easily have been preserved in various sources. In S. Luke it appears in a discourse made up of disjointed sayings; in S. Mark it arises out of the incident of the disciples having forgotten to take bread.

XI. S. Luke xiii. 18-21=S. Mark iv. 30-32. The parable of the mustard seed. The differences between the two records of the parable are considerable, as will be seen if they are carefully compared.

S. LUKE.

To what is the kingdom of God like, and to what shall I liken it? It is like to a seed of mustard which a man having taken cast into his garden,

and it increased, and becomes into a tree, and the birds of the heaven shelter in its branches.

S. MARK.

How shall we liken the kingdom of God, or in what parable shall we put it? As to a seed of mustard, which when it is sown upon the earth, is less than all seeds which are upon the earth, and when it is sown it grows up, and becomes greater than all herbs, and makes great branches, so that the birds of the heaven are able to shelter under the branches of it.

S. Matthew also has this parable, and his version is in some places closer to S. Mark's version, in others to S. Luke's. Like S. Mark, he places it in the sermon by the

sea; as in S. Luke, it follows immediately with the parable of the leaven.

It seems probable, therefore, that the parable was preserved in two sources, and that in placing it where he does S. Luke was influenced by his other source.

xii. S. Luke xiv. 34=S. Mark ix. 50. In this saying about salt the resemblance of the two versions is fairly close. It is, however, quite short, and might well have been preserved in several sources.

xiv. S. Luke xvii. 1, 2=S. Mark ix. 42. Here much the same is true; the saying is rather longer, however, and the variations rather more marked.

xvii. S. Luke xvii. 31=S. Mark xiii. 15, 16. Once more the same is true.

In regard to these last two instances S. Matthew seems to preserve traits of both versions, so that, as in the case of the parable of the mustard seed, the view that the saying was preserved in two sources seems best to fit the facts.

We conclude, then, that in this section S. Luke was not using the common source as his chief authority, probably was not consciously using it at all; so that the wide differences of order which here appear between S. Mark and S. Luke do not invalidate the general conclusion that both evangelists arrange their common matter throughout in practically the same order.

The parallels between S. Luke xxiv. 13-53 and S. Mark xvi. 9-20 need not be considered here, as the last twelve verses of S. Mark are a later addition and no part of the original Gospel.

When we come to compare the resemblances in actual wording which exist between parallel passages of S. Mark

and S. Luke, we find that in some cases they are very close indeed.

Perhaps the most striking of all is found in S. Mark.

I. S. Mark x. 14, 15=S. Luke xviii. 16, 17.

‘Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall by no means enter into it.’

These words are, of course, a saying of our Lord’s, and it is not strange to find closer agreement in the record of Christ’s sayings than in narrative passages; but, since it is practically certain that Jesus spoke habitually in Aramaic, the identity of thirty-five consecutive words in two Greek records of His words seems conclusive proof of the use of a common source.

II. S. MARK I. 23-25.

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S. LUKE IV. 33-35.

And immediately there was in their synagogue a man in an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked it, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out out of him.

And there was in the synagogue a man having a spirit of an unclean demon, and he cried out with a loud voice, Ha! what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked it, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out from him.

The identity of origin is here unmistakable. A few of the variations are worth notice. S. Luke lacks the characteristically Marcan ‘immediately’; he says ‘the synagogue’ where S. Mark has ‘their synagogue’; he writes ‘come out from’ (ἐξέλθε ἀπ’) where S. Mark has ‘come out out of’ (ἐξέλθε ἐξ).

III. S. MARK V. 35-43.

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S. LUKE VIII. 49-56.

While he was yet speaking they come from the ruler of the synagogue, saying that, Thy daughter is dead, why do you any longer trouble the Master? But Jesus having heard the word spoken says to the ruler of the synagogue, Do not fear: only believe. And he did not allow any one to follow with him, save Peter and James and John the brother of James, and they come into the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and he beholds the uproar and people weeping and lamenting much, and going in he says to them, Why do ye make an uproar and weep? the child is not dead but sleeps.

And they laughed at him. But he casting all out takes the father and mother of the child and those who were with him, and goes in where the child was, and taking hold of the child's hand he says to her, Talitha cumi, which is, being interpreted, Young damsel, I say to thee arise. And immediately the young damsel stood up and walked, for she was twelve years old. And immediately they were astonished with great astonishment. And he enjoined them much that no one should know this, and said it should be given to her to eat.

While he was yet speaking one comes from the ruler of the synagogue saying that, Thy daughter has died; do not any longer trouble the Master. But Jesus having heard answered him, Do not fear, only believe, and she shall be saved. But coming into the house he did not suffer any one to go in with him save Peter and James and John, and the father and mother of the child. But all wept and bewailed her. But he said, Do not weep, for she is not dead but sleeps.

And they laughed at him, knowing that she was dead; but he

taking hold of her hand addressed her saying, Child, arise, and her spirit returned and she stood up immediately, and he commanded it should be given to her to eat. And her parents were astonished. But he commanded them to tell no one what had happened.

The likeness of these two narratives to one another is sufficient to prove that they must have a common origin. Their differences, however, are striking also. The narrative of S. Luke is terser and neater; especially does he avoid one awkward repetition made by S. Mark, who,

after having said that Jesus allowed no one to go with Him save Peter, James, and John, adds lower down that He took the father and mother of the child and those that were with Him. It is very difficult to believe that, had the common source contained the narrative in the form in which S. Luke gives it, S. Mark could have altered it to the form in which it appears in his Gospel. Twice S. Luke has another construction, where S. Mark has an historic present. Once he lacks 'immediately' where S. Mark has it; once he uses the more literary word *παραχρῆμα* for S. Mark's more colloquial *εὐθύς*.

A careful consideration of the differences leads us to the conclusion that S. Luke's version can easily be accounted for as an improvement on S. Mark's, but that S. Mark's cannot be reasonably accounted for as derived from S. Luke's; and that, therefore, either the common source is preserved more closely by S. Mark, or S. Luke actually used S. Mark as his source.

In the next place, two passages must be examined which seem to show that S. Luke's source had the same wording as S. Mark, though S. Luke himself has a different wording.

i. In the parable of the sower (S. Mark iv. 6) we read: 'And because it had no root it withered away.' S. Luke in the parallel sentence (viii. 6) has: 'It withered away because it had no moisture' (*ἰκμάδα*). But in the explanation S. Luke, like S. Mark, has the word 'root,' and no reference at all to moisture. The inference clearly is that the common source, like S. Mark, had the word 'root' both in the parable and in the explanation.

ii. In Christ's prediction that S. Peter will betray Him, S. Mark (xiv. 30) has: 'To-day . . . before the cock crow twice thou shalt deny Me thrice.' S. Luke in

the parallel passage (xxii. 34) has : ' The cock shall not crow to-day until thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest Me ' ; but when he narrates how S. Peter recalled the words (xxii. 61), he gives them approximately in the same form as S. Mark : ' Before the cock crow to-day thou shalt deny Me thrice.' Here, again, it seems likely that it is S. Mark who has preserved the source more accurately.

A number of differences between S. Mark and S. Luke can be classified, and seem to be what may be called stylistic improvements made by S. Luke.

The words *εὐθύς* and *πάλιν*, which occur so frequently in S. Mark, are found only rarely in S. Luke. For the historic present, which is another characteristic of the second Gospel, S. Luke frequently substitutes another construction. While S. Mark is peculiarly fond of the word *λέγειν* (to say), which occurs one hundred and fifty-nine times in his Gospel, S. Luke uses it only fourteen times, substituting various synonyms for it ; often having ' but He said ' (*ὁ δε εἶπεν*) when S. Mark has ' and He says ' (*καὶ λέγει*). S. Luke often has a participle where S. Mark employs ' and ' followed by a finite verb. He avoids S. Mark's awkward parenthetical qualifications of general statements. He uses more strictly appropriate words (*e.g.* he calls Herod ' the tetrarch,' not, as S. Mark inaccurately does, ' king'). He avoids the use of phrases which might jar on his readers (*e.g.* that Jesus looked round ' with anger '—S. Mark iii. 5). He improves the general run of sentences (*e.g.* S. Mark v. 2 reads : ' And He having come out of the ship, immediately there met Him,' while S. Luke in the parallel passage (viii. 27) has : ' There met Him as He came out on the land,' thus avoiding the awkward use of ' Him ' twice in the same sentence. He avoids following a compound verb with the same

preposition as it is compounded with, a usage common in S. Mark.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in the parallel passages S. Luke is more literary and correct, and that, while it is easy to explain his language as an improvement on that of S. Mark, it would be hard to account for S. Mark's language if we assumed that he had a document worded like S. Luke in front of him.

A comparison, then, of these two Gospels has led us to the following conclusions :—

I. That their resemblances can only be accounted for by the use of a common Greek source.

II. That the order of the common matter is substantially the same throughout, and was therefore probably derived from one document.

III. That the question whether the central section of S. Mark (vi. 45-viii. 26), which is lacking in S. Luke, was drawn from the common source must for the present be regarded as open.

IV. That the wording of S. Mark is more primitive, and likely to be closer to that of the source, than S. Luke's is.

V. That there is no evidence incompatible with the view that S. Mark's Gospel may have been one of the sources of S. Luke.

NOTE

IS THE FEEDING OF THE 4000 A DOUBLET OF THE FEEDING
OF THE 5000?

The Rev. N. P. Williams in the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (p. 419) writes: 'The reason for supposing the "Four thousand" scene to be a doublet of the "Five thousand" is, not the assumption that such an event could only have occurred once, but the extreme difficulty of supposing that the memory of the first miracle could have been erased from the minds of the disciples so soon after

its occurrence as to leave them in the state of perplexity depicted in ch. viii. 4. There we are told that our Lord called His disciples and said: "I have compassion on the multitude because they have been with Me now for three days," etc., to which the disciples return the helpless answer (v. 4): "Whence can we satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?" Now if the miracle of the Five thousand had previously occurred, surely the obvious reply would have been: "Work a miracle, as Thou didst when Thou feddest the Five thousand." To suppose that they had forgotten the first incident seems to postulate an almost incredible dulness on the part of the disciples.'

This is well put, and states a difficulty which all serious students of S. Mark's Gospel must have felt; it does not, however, necessarily prove that the feeding of the 4000 is merely a doublet of that of the 5000. I would suggest that just the thing which S. Mark desired to show was that the disciples were guilty of 'almost incredible dulness.' Is not this just what is implied by our Lord's reproach recorded in viii. 17: 'Do ye not yet perceive, neither understand? have ye your heart hardened?' and again in viii. 21: 'Do ye not yet understand?' The point of the whole passage in which these words occur (viii. 14-21) is that our Lord is pained and astonished at 'the almost incredible dulness of the disciples,' who after having witnessed the two miracles, the feeding of the 5000 and of the 4000, are still perturbed because they have forgotten to take bread. If this be so, we can hardly use the argument that the 'helpless answer' of the disciples recorded in v. 4 postulates 'almost incredible dulness' is proof that the answer was not given in the manner in which S. Mark says it was, *i.e.* by men who had already witnessed the feeding of the 5000. To put it in other words, S. Mark was himself aware of the facts, which present a difficulty to the modern critic. The modern critic's solution is that we have here a doublet narrative. S. Mark's is that the disciples 'were almost incredibly dull.' For my own part, I find S. Mark's solution the more satisfactory of the two.

CHAPTER V

THE PRIORITY OF S. MARK

IF we collect together the matter found in all three synoptists, that found in S. Matthew and S. Mark only, and that found in S. Luke and S. Mark only, we shall discover that we have almost the whole contents of S. Mark's Gospel.

The chief passages peculiar to S. Mark are :—

- (I.) iii. 19^b-21. The charge that Jesus was mad, and the attempt of His friends to lay hold on Him.
- (II.) iv. 26-29. The parable of the seed growing secretly.
- (III.) vii. 2-4. Explanation of Jewish custom.
- (IV.) vii. 31-37. Deaf man healed.
- (V.) viii. 22-26. The blind man at Bethsaida.
- (VI.) xii. 31^c-34^a. Praise of the scribe.
- (VII.) xiv. 51-52. The young man with the linen cloth.

In Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* a table of one hundred and forty-nine passages peculiar to S. Mark may be found, but save the ones given above they are, in most cases, only single verses or parts of verses, often only a word or two, *e.g.* 'answer Me' (xi. 30), 'and Salome' (xvi. 1), 'Abba' (xiv. 36), 'they cast anchor' (vi. 53).

We are therefore fully justified in saying that, as far as the general subject-matter goes, practically the whole of S. Mark is reproduced in one or other of the other two synoptists.

Next, as to the order in which this matter is arranged,

we find S. Luke sometimes, and S. Matthew rather more frequently, presenting a different order from S. Mark, but never at the same point ; so that whenever S. Luke deserts S. Mark's order S. Matthew supports it, and where S. Matthew deserts it S. Luke supports it.

Now we have seen in the two preceding chapters that there is good reason to suppose :—

- I. That S. Matthew and S. Mark derive their common matter from a common source.
- II. That S. Mark and S. Luke derive their common matter from a common source.
- III. That in both cases the language of S. Mark seems to be the more primitive, and his differences from the other synoptists most easily explained by the hypothesis that they have corrected and improved upon an earlier narrative.

All these considerations taken together seem to indicate that the theory which regards S. Mark's Gospel, or a document hardly distinguishable from it, as the source of the common matter is a highly probable one, and this theory is now widely accepted.

When S. Mark's Gospel is compared separately with each of the other synoptists, we have seen that the balance of probabilities is strongly in favour of S. Matthew's dependence on it, and a little, though only a little, less strongly in favour of S. Luke's also.

That a few incidents recorded by S. Mark are absent from both the other synoptists, and a larger number from one of them, does not invalidate this theory ; the surprising thing is that S. Matthew and S. Luke have between them used so much of S. Mark's matter.

To put the matter in another way, it may be said that,

if S. Mark's Gospel was the source employed by S. Matthew and S. Luke for the matter common to all three, most of the variations of the other synoptists from S. Mark can be reasonably accounted for. Demonstrative proof in such a matter can never be forthcoming.

There is, however, one difficulty in the way of this theory which must be carefully considered ; it is this, if S. Mark is the common source of S. Matthew and S. Luke, how are we to account for the fact that in some cases the two latter evangelists agree in wording against S. Mark ? Of such agreements there are in all over two hundred distributed fairly evenly throughout the whole of S. Mark's Gospel.

In some cases the explanation may be that S. Matthew and S. Luke were combining S. Mark's account with that of some other source, as we saw was probably the case in the parable of the mustard seed ; but this explanation will not account for all the cases, as many of the alterations are so slight and so purely stylistic (*e.g.* the substitution of ' but ' (δέ) for ' and ' (καί), or of a participle for a finite verb) as to render it absurd to postulate a second source to account for them.

It will, then, be well to ascertain the true nature and extent of these agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against S. Mark. For this purpose we will first examine carefully one passage, in which the agreements are rather more frequent than usual. This will have to be done in considerable detail, but it is worth so doing, as the results arrived at are of the highest value in estimating the probabilities of the causes of the phenomena found in other similar passages.

The passage chosen is S. Mark xii. 18-24, which we will examine verse by verse, translating very literally.

18. 'And there came Sadducees to Him, who say a resurrection is not, and they were asking Him, saying.'

In this verse S. Matthew makes eight alterations:—

- I. He inserts at the beginning 'in that day' instead of 'and.'
- II. For S. Mark's simple verb in the present tense, 'there came' (*ἔρχονται*), he has a compound verb in the aorist, 'there approached' (*προσῆλθον*).
- III. He expresses 'to Him' by the dative case instead of by the accusative with a preposition.
- IV. He inverts the order of 'Sadducees' and 'to Him.'
- V. He omits 'who.'
- VI. He changes 'say' into 'saying.'
- VII. He inverts the order of 'resurrection' and 'is not.'
- VIII. He changes 'were asking' (imperfect) to 'asked' (aorist).

With two of these, VI. and VIII., S. Luke agrees; with another, II., he partially agrees, using the same verb as S. Matthew in the same tense, but employing the participle instead of the finite verb.

He also has three other alterations:—

- I. 'But' for 'and.'
- II. 'Some of the Sadducees' for 'Sadducees.'
- III. A different word for 'who.'

19. 'Teacher, Moses wrote to us that if any one's brother die, and leave a wife, and do not leave behind a child, that his brother take the wife and raise up seed to his brother.'

In this verse S. Matthew makes eight alterations:—

- I. He has 'said' for 'wrote to us that.'

- II. He substitutes 'any one' for 'any one's brother.'
- III. He omits 'and leave a wife and.'
- IV. He substitutes 'not having' for 'do not leave behind.'
- V. He substitutes 'children' for 'a child.'
- VI. He substitutes 'shall marry' for 'that . . . take.'
- VII. He changes 'the wife' to 'his wife' (*i.e.* inserts *αὐτοῦ*).

VIII. He uses a slightly different verb for 'raise up,' and puts it in future indicative instead of aorist subjunctive.

With none of these does S. Luke agree. He has, however, one important change, covering a whole clause:—

He writes 'having a wife, and this one be childless' where S. Mark has 'and leave a wife, and do not leave behind a child.'

- 20. 'Seven brothers were. And the first took a wife, and dying did not leave behind a seed.'

In this verse S. Matthew has seven alterations:—

- I. He inserts 'but with us.'
- II. He inverts the order of 'were' and 'seven brothers.'
- III. He says 'having married' for 'took a wife.'
- IV. He uses a different word for 'died,' and puts it in the aorist indicative instead of present participle.
- V. He omits the 'and' before it.
- VI. He inserts 'having,' and uses a different word for 'not.'
- VII. He adds after 'left behind' the words 'his wife to his brother.'

With none of these does S. Luke wholly agree. His changes are:—

- I. He inserts 'therefore' after 'seven.'

II. He changes 'took' to 'having taken.'

III. He omits 'and.'

IV. He changes 'dying' to 'he died.'

V. He writes 'childless' for 'did not leave behind a seed.'

Here it will be noticed that there is a certain similarity between some of the changes of S. Matthew and S. Luke. Both use a participle where S. Mark uses a finite verb, and a finite verb where he uses a participle, dropping the connecting 'and'; but so far as these are an agreement at all they are one, not three, for the changing of the verb 'took' to the participle 'having married' (Matt.), 'having taken' (Luke), really involves the two other changes in construction.

21. 'And the second took her, and died, not leaving a seed, and the third likewise.'

In this verse S. Matthew makes three alterations:—

I. He inserts 'in like manner' (*ὁμοίως*).

II. He omits 'took her . . . seed.'

III. He omits 'likewise' (*ὡσαύτως*).

With the second of these S. Luke agrees. He also makes two changes:—

I. He inserts 'took her' after 'the third.'

II. He inserts 'but.'

22. 'And the seven did not leave behind a seed. Last of all also the woman died.'

In this verse S. Matthew makes five alterations:—

I. He writes 'until the seven' for the first half of the verse 'and . . . seed.'

II. He uses a different word for 'last' (*ἕσπερον*).

III. He inserts 'but.'

IV. He inverts the order of 'the woman' and 'died.'

V. He omits 'also.'

With one of these, II., S. Luke agrees, using *ὕστερον* for 'last' like S. Matthew. S. Mark's word is *ἔσχατον*.

S. Luke has the following changes also :—

I. He has 'left' for 'left behind'—a wholly different verb.

II. He has 'children' for 'seed.'

III. He omits 'of all.'

23. 'In the resurrection of which of them shall she be wife? for the seven had her (as) wife.'

In this verse S. Matthew has four alterations :—

I. He inserts 'therefore.'

II. He substitutes 'of the seven' for 'of them.'

III. He substitutes 'all' for 'the seven.'

IV. He omits 'wife.'

With one of these, I., S. Luke agrees. He also has changes :—

I. He inserts 'the woman' at the beginning of the sentence.

II. He substitutes 'becomes' for 'shall be' (*γίνεται* for *ἔσται*).

24. 'Said to them Jesus,' etc. (From this point S. Luke differs considerably from the other two, possibly inserting an illustrative saying from another source; and S. Matthew and S. Luke present no further agreements in the rest of the paragraph.)

S. Matthew has altered these words in three ways :—

I. He inserts 'but having answered.'

II. He inverts the order of 'Jesus' and 'said to them.'

III. He uses another word for 'said' (*εἶπεν* for *ἔφη*).

S. Luke agrees with one of these, III. He also makes one other change :—

I. Adding 'and' at the beginning of the sentence.

We see, then, that in this passage, which in S. Mark contains ninety-nine words, S. Matthew has made thirty-eight alterations, and S. Luke twenty-four. In seven they agree, and in two more they partially agree. Now when we consider the obvious nature of most of the alterations in which S. Matthew and S. Luke agree, we feel that it would be absurd to postulate the use of a second source to account for them. It may fairly be asked whether, if both S. Matthew and S. Luke were using S. Mark, and altering his wording for stylistic reasons, it is not on the whole probable that they should have made a certain number of similar alterations? After all, of S. Matthew's thirty-eight alterations, it is only with one in five that S. Luke agrees. The two most striking agreements are the use of a different word for 'last' in verse 22, and for 'said' in verse 24, but in both cases there is some uncertainty as to the reading.

This passage also offers an instance of the way in which the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against S. Mark may easily be exaggerated. In the parallel to verse 22 S. Matthew has the phrase 'not having (*ἔχων*) children,' S. Luke has the phrase 'having a wife,' and some critics actually see in this an agreement, though the present participle of the verb 'to have' is surely the commonest of common words, and is here used in a different connection.

When the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against

S. Mark throughout the common synoptic matter are examined, it is found that many of these consist of trivial and obvious stylistic changes which both evangelists are constantly making.

- I. The substitution of 'but' (δέ) for 'and' (καί).
- II. The insertion of 'but' (δέ) where S. Mark has not got it.
- III. The substitution of a participle for a finite verb preceded by 'and.'
- IV. The insertion of a subject or object left vague by S. Mark.
- V. The change of S. Mark's 'He says' (λέγει) to 'He said' (εἶπεν).
- VI. The change of the tense of a verb.
- VII. The change of a less appropriate to a more appropriate preposition.
- VIII. The insertion of the word 'lo!' (ἰδου).
- IX. The insertion of connecting words, such as 'for,' 'therefore,' etc.

The bearing of these classes of alterations on the point at issue must be clearly understood. Let us take, for instance, the first, the substitution of 'but' for 'and.' If S. Matthew and S. Luke each made this alteration in every case in which the other makes it, and never made it in any other case, it would certainly suggest to our minds that even so trivial a change could not be wholly accidental. The fact, however, is that both evangelists make it frequently in cases where the other does not, and also make it in passages where the other has no parallel to S. Mark at all.

We therefore conclude that this alteration is a stylistic one, made independently by S. Matthew and S. Luke, and

that the fact that in a certain number of cases both make this alteration at the same point is due to coincidence. The same will be found to be true of the other eight classes of alterations noted above. Whence we infer that many of the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against S. Mark are simply due to the fact that the two evangelists both altered the wording of their source so as to make it more accurate and literary, and by mere coincidence a certain number of times made the same alteration at the same point.

Now although all the agreements are not of this simple and obvious nature, there are a certain number more which may easily be accounted for as having been made by each evangelist independently, *e.g.* in S. Mark x. 51 we find the Aramaic word 'Rabboni,' for which S. Matthew and S. Luke both substitute the common Greek word 'Lord' (Κύριε). In S. Mark xv. 39 S. Mark has the word 'centurion,' simply writing the Latin word in Greek letters (κεντυρίων). S. Matthew and S. Luke both substitute the natural Greek word, though they give it in slightly different form (S. Matthew, ἐκατόνταρχος; S. Luke, ἑκατοντάρχης).

In a number of other passages, although both alter S. Mark at the same point, they do not alter in quite the same way, *e.g.* in S. Mark vi. 36 we find 'something to eat.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both alter this to 'food,' but use wholly different words.

In two places both S. Matthew and S. Luke get rid of S. Mark's word 'bring' or 'bear' (φέρω) where it seems inappropriate, as applied to bringing a colt, and substitute the more suitable word 'lead' (ἄγω).

But when all deductions have been made there remain some passages in which the agreements can hardly be set

down to coincidence without closer scrutiny. In Sir J. Hawkins's *Horae Synopticae* (2nd edit., pp. 210-11) a list of twenty such is given, and these we will now examine in detail, taking first those which we believe can most readily be explained without resorting to the theory of a second source, or to the hypothesis that either S. Matthew or S. Luke derived these details from the other.

I. In S. Mark vi. 14 Herod Antipas is called 'king'; in the parallel passages in S. Matthew and S. Luke he is called 'tetrarch.' But since this correction is the substitution of the correct for the incorrect title, it really proves nothing.

II. In S. Mark ix. 19 we find: 'Oh! faithless generation.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both add 'and perverse,' but this may be, and probably is, a reminiscence of Deut. xxxii. 5.

III. In S. Mark v. 27 we read: 'She touched His garment.' Here S. Matthew and S. Luke both have 'the hem of His garment' (though there is some doubt as to the reading in S. Luke). The fuller phrase used by S. Matthew and S. Luke is, however, found in S. Mark vi. 56. Now if S. Matthew and S. Luke used S. Mark as a source, it would be quite natural for them to introduce into one passage a phrase found in another.

IV. In the parallel to S. Mark xi. 27 S. Matthew and S. Luke both introduce the detail that Jesus was teaching when the chief priests and elders came to Him, though not quite in the same words; but this detail might well have been derived from the general statement of S. Mark xiv. 49: 'And daily I was with you preaching in the Temple' (cf. S. Luke vi. 6).

V. S. Mark xvi. 8 says that the woman 'said nothing to any one,' whereas S. Matthew and S. Luke both say

that they told the disciples ; we note, however, that they word the statement quite differently. S. Matthew says : ' They ran to announce to the disciples,' while S. Luke has : ' They announced these things to the eleven and to all the rest ' ; while, as the passage occurs just at the point at which S. Mark's narrative breaks abruptly off, it can hardly be reckoned as a case where all the three Gospels are parallel.

vi. In S. Mark x. 30 we find a ' hundredfold,' while the parallels in S. Matthew and S. Luke have ' many-fold.' The reading here, however, is somewhat doubtful, there being considerable authority for reading ' hundredfold ' in S. Matthew and ' sevenfold ' in S. Luke.

vii. S. Mark xiv. 72 has, ' And when he thought thereon he wept.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both read : ' And going out outside he wept bitterly.' The genuineness of the reading in S. Luke is, however, doubtful.

viii. In the parallel to S. Mark ix. 7 S. Matthew and S. Luke both insert words of the same import, but not the same words. S. Matthew has : ' While He was yet speaking ' (ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος) ; S. Luke : ' But He was yet saying these things ' (ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λεγόντος).

ix. In the parallel to S. Mark xiv. 45 S. Matthew and S. Luke both add that Jesus spoke to Judas, but whereas S. Matthew makes Him say : ' Friend, wherefore art thou come ? ' S. Luke makes Him say : ' Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss ? '

x. In the parallel to S. Mark xi. 19 S. Matthew states that Jesus ' lodged ' at Bethany (ἡνυλίσθη), while at a later point S. Luke states that Jesus ' lodged ' (ἡνυλίζετο) in the Mount of Olives.

xi. In the parallel to S. Mark xv. 30-32 S. Matthew and S. Luke both have a conditional clause : ' If Thou art the

Son of God' (S. Matthew); 'if this man is the Christ of God' (S. Luke), though in a slightly different connection.

xii. S. Matthew xxviii. 1 has: 'Late on the Sabbath, as it was dawning (τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ) towards the first day of the week.' S. Luke xxiii. 54 has: 'And it was the day of preparation, and the Sabbath was dawning' (ἐπέφωσκεν). S. Mark does not use this word, but the connection is different in S. Matthew and S. Luke.

xiii. S. Mark vi. 33 has: 'And on foot from all the cities they ran together there and came to Him.' S. Matthew has: 'They *followed* Him on foot from all the cities'; S. Luke: 'They *followed* Him.' Here the agreement of S. Matthew and S. Luke is confined to the word 'followed.'

In none of these thirteen cases does it seem that the resemblances of S. Matthew and S. Luke are sufficiently striking to make it unreasonable to attribute them to mere coincidence.

In the remaining seven instances the case is rather different.

xiv. In S. Mark ii. 22, in the saying about the new wine in old wine-skins, we find: 'The wine is destroyed and the bottles.' Here S. Matthew has: 'The wine is spilled and the bottles are destroyed'; S. Luke: 'It will be spilled, and the bottles will be destroyed.' Though the agreement between S. Matthew and S. Luke is not complete, it is certainly striking. It may well be that in the case of this saying, as in that of the parable of the mustard seed, a slightly variant version besides that preserved in S. Mark was known to the other synoptists.

xv. In S. Mark iv. 11 we find: 'To you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both insert the word 'to know' (γινῶναι).

xvi. In the parallels to S. Mark viii. 29, to S. Peter's words, 'Thou art the Christ,' S. Matthew adds, 'the Son of the living God,' and S. Luke simply 'of God.'

xvii. In S. Mark xiv. 65 we are told that when Christ was being mocked they said to Him: 'Prophecy.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both add: 'Who is he that smiteth Thee?'

xviii. In S. Mark xv. 39 we read that the centurion seeing 'that thus He gave up the ghost.' Here S. Matthew substitutes 'the things which were happened' (*τὰ γινόμενα*); S. Luke 'the thing which had happened' (*τὸ γενόμενον*).

xix. In S. Mark xv. 46, in recording the burial of Jesus, the evangelist says: 'They wrapped Him in the linen' (*ἐνείλησεν αὐτόν*). S. Matthew and S. Luke both say: 'They enwound it' (*ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτό*).

xx. In S. Mark xvi. 5 we read that the woman saw in the sepulchre 'a young man clothed with a white garment.' S. Matthew speaks of an angel whose 'appearance was as lightning' (*ὡς ἀστραπή*); S. Luke of 'two men in lightning-like clothing' (*ἐν ἐσθήτι ἀστραπτύσῃ*).

The last seven agreements are certainly somewhat remarkable. Various attempts have been made to explain them and the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against S. Mark as a whole. Some regard them as due to a very early assimilation of the text of the two Gospels, words and phrases from the one having been transferred by copyists to the other.

Dr. Sanday suggests that S. Matthew and S. Luke may have used a slightly different recension of S. Mark's Gospel from that from which all extant manuscripts of it are derived. If they are rather too numerous and striking to be attributed wholly to coincidence, they are also too

few and not striking enough to support the view that they are due to the use of a second source containing all these incidents in S. Mark in which the agreements occur. At present it cannot be said that any wholly satisfactory explanation of them is forthcoming, but it does not seem that they are of sufficient number or weight to invalidate the conclusion which, on other grounds, is found to be highly probable, that for their common matter the three synoptists relied on one Greek source, nor even the other conclusion, which is probable, if not quite to the same extent, that their source was S. Mark. Before leaving this subject the following points may be briefly put :—

I. The agreements noted as 'stylistic' may be, and probably are, due simply to coincidence.

II. Of the twenty more striking agreements which we have examined in detail, the first thirteen may well be due to coincidence.

III. The remaining seven may be due either to assimilation of the text of S. Matthew and S. Luke, or to very early corrections in that of S. Mark, or in a few cases to the influence of a second source.

IV. If S. Matthew and S. Luke had, for any considerable portion of the common matter, employed a second common source other than, or not used by, S. Mark, the number of their agreements against him could hardly have been as few as it is, nor the majority of them so slight.

Indirectly, then, the fewness and slowness of these agreements support the view that for their common matter the three synoptists in the main relied upon one common source, though it is not unlikely that for some of the incidents related in it S. Luke (but not S. Matthew) had access to another account; while it is, as we have

seen, well-nigh certain that some of the sayings of Christ recorded by S. Mark were recorded also in some other source.

The view that S. Mark's Gospel was one of the sources of the other two synoptists is widely, but by no means universally, accepted, even by those who believe the three Synoptic Gospels to be based on a common written source. We must, therefore, consider a few of the alternative hypotheses. Nobody now holds that either S. Matthew or S. Luke derived his matter directly from the other, or that S. Mark is based on either or both of the other two synoptists, so that the other explanations are all variations of one hypothesis, viz. that behind our three Gospels lies a lost document shorter than any of them. This document, if it ever existed, cannot be reconstructed by removing from the common matter every word which is not found in all three synoptists, for when this has been done the words left often make no sense. If, for instance, S. Mark ii. 15-17 (and parallels) be so treated, the result is as follows :—

‘And . . . in the house . . . and . . . the . . . with the publicans and sinners . . . He . . . the . . . have no need of a physician but the sick ; not . . . to call righteous but sinners.’

In addition to these words there are a few parts of words found in all three Gospels, but even so, there is not sufficient to make consecutive sense. It appears, then, that the required document cannot be reconstructed mechanically, but must be reconstructed, if at all, by critical hypotheses. We will proceed to examine two forms which the view that there was an earlier document has taken.

I. That it was a shorter form of S. Mark (or Ur-Marcus, as it is called). This would correspond to what Mr.

Arthur Wright calls the proto-Mark in his *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*. It would consist only of those portions of S. Mark which are found in S. Luke, and from these portions all details not found in S. Luke would have to be removed. This theory readily accounts for the absence from S. Luke of many incidents recorded by S. Matthew and S. Mark, but it is open to one or two grave objections. If it be true, the common matter must have passed through three stages :—

- (A) The stage in which it appears in S. Luke.
- (B) That in which it appears in S. Matthew.
- (C) That in which it appears in S. Mark.

If this be so, how are we to account for the fact that S. Mark and S. Luke record several incidents which S. Matthew omits? If by saying that S. Matthew deliberately rejected them, what is to prevent us from assuming also that S. Luke deliberately omitted all the matter, which S. Matthew and S. Mark have, but he has not? If by saying that they were lacking in the form of the document, which S. Matthew used, we are relying on the very improbable hypothesis that the second stage of the document, while it expanded the first in one part, curtailed it in others.

If we assume that the passages not found in S. Matthew did not belong to the document in its earliest stage, we have to account for their presence in S. Mark and S. Luke.

The theory cannot be disproved, but it may fairly be said that it is harder to reconcile with the known facts than the view that it was S. Mark's Gospel itself which the other synoptist used.

Blass has worked out a variation of this theory. The original document was, he holds, in Aramaic. One trans-

lation of it was used (perhaps made) by S. Mark, and used also by S. Matthew ; another was used by S. Luke, but into this Lucan version *some phrases of the Marcan version crept*.

This view is open to two fatal objections : first, that the evidence strongly supports the conclusion that all three evangelists used the same Greek document, the number of passages in which differences that can reasonably be regarded as translation variants being far too small and the cases far too dubious to support the theory that two different Greek translations of an Aramaic original were used. Secondly, that Blass's admission *that some Marcan phrases crept into the Lucan version* is really strong testimony to the cogency of the evidence for the use of S. Mark by S. Luke.

II. That the original document was an Aramaic one, to which the form of the common matter as given by S. Matthew most closely corresponds. Zahn goes so far as to say : ' The book employed by Mark was not some work which simply resembled our Matthew, but as far as content and arrangement go, our Matthew itself . . . it was the Aramaic Matthew which Mark had before him. On the other hand, the numerous agreements between Matthew and Mark in the choice of words is explained *if the person who translated Matthew into Greek was familiar with Mark* and if he followed this in places where he found an expression which suited him ' (*Introduction to the New Testament*, English translation, vol. ii. p. 608). Is it not clear that the verbal dependence of the Greek S. Matthew on the Greek S. Mark—the only forms of those Gospels known to us—is so clear that Zahn cannot gainsay it ?

Zahn strives hard to show that the form of the narrative in S. Matthew is more primitive than in S. Mark. On page 607 of the work cited above he says : ' The unfinished

sketch precedes the complete drawing and the highly coloured painting,' thereby implying that the more detailed narratives of S. Mark must be derived from the briefer, less detailed ones of S. Matthew, and not *vice versa*. But we may fairly ask if he has not been led away by a false analogy, and whether it is not true that a literary man compiling a history from a written source is more likely to condense than to expand it?

It is impossible to praise Zahn's industry and erudition too highly, but when reading the passages in which he compares S. Matthew and S. Mark it is hard to avoid the conviction that, having been led to certain conclusions by his interpretation of the external evidence as to the authorship of the Gospel of S. Matthew, he wholly underrates the weight of the evidence in favour of the dependence of that Gospel upon S. Mark.

It is especially worth noting that while Blass and Zahn both reject the claim of S. Mark to be the source of the other two synoptists for their common matter, both are driven by the logic of facts to admit that in some indirect manner the wording of S. Mark has materially influenced that of the other two Gospels as we know them. Such an admission, running counter, as it does, to the special theories of the scholars who make it, is the strongest possible testimony to the strength of the evidence in favour of the priority of S. Mark. While, then, the hypothesis that S. Mark, or a document hardly distinguishable from it, is the source of the matter common to the three synoptists (and probably also to S. Mark and either of the others) cannot be said to be proved, it can be said to be the best hypothesis yet suggested, and the one which, despite certain difficulties, explains the facts most adequately.

NOTE 1

ON S. MARK I. 35-39 = S. LUKE IV. 42-44

It will be interesting carefully to compare these two passages. They deal with the same general subject-matter, they stand in the same context in both Gospels, to a large extent they are parallel line for line, yet their actual verbal agreements are very few.

S. MARK I. 35-39.

And in the morning very early,
having risen up, *he went out*,
and departed into a desert place,
and there he prayed.

And there followed him Simon
and his companions,
and found him.

And they say to him that, All are
seeking thee.

And he says to them,

Let us go elsewhere into the
next villages that I may preach
there,

for *for this purpose* I have come
out.

And he went *preaching into their*
synagogues into the whole of
Galilee.

S. LUKE IV. 42-44.

But day having come,
going out,
he went into a *desert place*,

and the multitudes sought him,

and came to him,

and they constrained him not to
go from them,

But he said to them that, Also to
other cities it is necessary for me
to preach the kingdom of God,

because *for this purpose* I was
sent.

And he was *preaching into the*
synagogues of Judaea.

The italics mark close verbal resemblances.

The differences are at first sight so great as almost to make the two passages appear independent of one another. On closer inspection, however, we notice the peculiar use of 'into' (*eis*) in S. Luke in the phrase 'he was preaching into the synagogues.' Here we should certainly have expected the preposition 'in' (*en*) to have been used. The use of 'into' is, however, easily explained as derived from S. Mark. Thus S. Luke, despite the many alterations he has made in this passage, has left one convincing proof that he was here using S. Mark. On this hypothesis several of the most striking differences can easily be explained.

1. *The omission of the mention of Simon.*—In S. Mark the call of Simon and Andrew and the sons of Zebedee has already been recorded; they already form a nucleus of a band of disciples. S. Luke gives a different account of the call of Simon, derived

from another source, rather later; thus to mention Simon and his companions here would be out of place. This alteration, then, is caused by S. Luke bringing his two sources into harmony.

- II. *The substitution of Judaea for Galilee.*—‘Judaea’ besides being used of Judaea proper could also be used to mean ‘the whole country of the Jews’ much as we use Palestine. It is probably so used here. S. Luke is going in a later part of his Gospel to give an account of Christ’s preaching in Peraea, derived from a non-Marcian source. This would account for his substituting the more comprehensive word here.
- III. *The substitution of ‘I was sent’ for ‘I came out.’*—This change is probably what might be called an exegetical one. S. Mark’s words as they stand are capable of two interpretations: (a) ‘for this cause I came out from Capernaum into the desert’; (b) ‘for this cause I came out from the Father into the world.’ S. Luke’s alteration makes it clear that he understood them in the second sense. So this change may be regarded as intended to remove a possible ambiguity.

The more closely the passages are examined the more evident it becomes that S. Luke was here using S. Mark, even though he edited him very freely. It also seems that the reason for some of the changes made by S. Luke in Marcan portions of his Gospel is his desire to bring the statements of his Marcan and non-Marcian source, as far as possible, into harmony.

In other parts of the Gospel where S. Luke exhibits considerable divergences of wording from S. Mark, but still seems to have no second authority for his facts, the same causes are probably at work.

NOTE 2

ON THE USE OF ‘BEHOLD’ (ἰδοὺ) BY S. MATTHEW AND S. LUKE IN NARRATIVE PASSAGES

The case of this expression is one in which we can see how misleading inferences, hastily drawn from the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke against S. Mark, may be.

In S. Matthew it occurs 31 times, in S. Luke 16 (or if a passage in which the text is doubtful be included, 17 times), in S. Mark not at all. Of the occurrences in S. Matthew 22, and of those in S. Luke 8, are in passages common to all three Gospels; and in five instances it is found at the same point in S. Matthew and S. Luke. If we were to assume that in these five instances the agreement of S. Matthew and

S. Luke was due to the use of a second source, how should we account for the seventeen instances in S. Matthew, and the three in S. Luke, where the one evangelist has it and the other has not?

In both Gospels it is found throughout the narrative portions; in both it is found both in Marcan and non-Markan parts; in both it is found in passages peculiar to one Gospel; in both, then, it may fairly be regarded as a characteristic of the evangelist rather than of his sources. It may fairly be asked, then, whether it is really strange since S. Matthew inserts it frequently, and S. Luke fairly often, that the latter should in five cases have inserted it at the same point as the former?

It will be worth while to give the five cases we are discussing.

- I. Before the cleansing of the leper (S. Matthew viii. 2; S. Luke v. 12).
- II. Before the healing of the paralytic (S. Matthew ix. 2; S. Luke v. 18).
- III. Before Jairus's request to Jesus to come to his house (S. Matthew ix. 18; S. Luke viii. 41).
- IV. Before the mention of the appearance of Moses and Elijah at the transfiguration (S. Matthew xvii. 3; S. Luke ix. 30).
- V. Before the coming of Judas to betray Jesus (S. Matthew xxvi. 47; S. Luke xxiii. 47).

All these are points at which it was most natural for a writer who used this expression to insert it. Indeed, it would have been strange if S. Matthew and S. Luke had not occasionally inserted it at the same place, since both insert it so often. Again, it is noteworthy that while S. Matthew inserts it four times in one piece of narrative (the healing of the Gerasene demoniac), S. Luke does not insert it at all in that passage. Now if anywhere in S. Matthew its use is to be accounted for as due to a source, it will surely be in this passage, where it occurs four times in eleven verses, but in this case how should we account for S. Luke's omission of it?

In some instances the agreement of S. Matthew and S. Luke on this point may be due to the assimilation of the text of the one Gospel to that of the other at an early date; accidental coincidence is, however, the more probable explanation here.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOUBLE TRADITION

APART from the matter which they share with S. Mark, the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Luke present many resemblances to one another, which suggests to us that, in addition to the '*triple*' tradition common to all three evangelists, there was also a '*double*' tradition common to S. Matthew and S. Luke.

The cases of the triple and double tradition are, however, in many respects widely different. The former contains a large amount of narrative, the latter very little, consisting as it does in the main of sayings and discourses of Jesus. This distinction is an important one; for while in the case of events it is possible to have many different accounts all substantially accurate, of words spoken there can be only one really accurate account, a verbatim report.

It may, however, be doubted whether the evangelists held the same views with regard to the need of verbal accuracy in narrating the sayings of Christ which a modern historian would hold. At any rate, we must not at the outset tacitly assume that they did; nor yet must we assume that they would have felt justified in putting sayings of their own into Christ's mouth, and relating them as though spoken by Him.

The ultimate authority, then, for the bulk of the double tradition is the actual words spoken by Jesus, spoken for

the most part, we must remember, in the presence of many hearers.

Our first step, then, in dealing with the double tradition must be to consider the way in which the sayings of Jesus were preserved and handed down. It appears to be well-nigh certain that our Lord habitually spoke not Greek but Aramaic ; but, with the exception of a few words and phrases preserved by S. Mark (*e.g.* Talitha cumi—Abba—Ephphatha), His sayings have been preserved only in Greek translations.

The importance of this point is twofold, for on the one hand, where we find the same saying preserved in two or more Gospels in practically the same words, we may feel sure that the verbal identity is of literary origin, *i.e.* is due to the fact that the evangelists have derived it from the same literary source directly or indirectly. On the other hand, when we find the same thought expressed in quite different words we are justified at least in considering the possibility that the difference may be due to the fact that the evangelists derived the saying from two distinct Greek versions of an Aramaic saying.

In the next place, we must remember that since it is probable that the sayings of Jesus were not committed to writing till a good many years after they were spoken, the probability that any of the disciples would remember the exact words used in any longer sayings is very slight. There might well, then, have been current in the Church several slightly different versions of the sayings, all agreeing as to the main points but differing as to the wording in detail.

It is possible that our Lord may have repeated a saying or parable on more than one occasion, not always in exactly the same words. This point must not, however,

be unduly pressed, for often the probabilities are very strongly against this being the true cause of the differences between the evangelists. We may illustrate this by means of the parable of the sower, which is recorded by all three evangelists with a certain amount of variation. Since all three give it as part of a discourse spoken at the same point in our Lord's career, it is clear that they are all referring to a parable spoken on one occasion, not on several; or, at any rate, refer to the same occasion, if it was spoken more than once. So that, whatever the true explanations of the variations may be, it cannot be that S. Matthew is intending to record what Christ said the first time He spoke, S. Mark what He said the second time, and S. Luke the third time, or anything of that kind. In other words, the explanation cannot be that the evangelists are narrating three different discourses, for they are manifestly intending to relate the same discourse. The agreements and variations, then, have a literary, not an historical origin. Even if the ultimate cause of the variations is historical (due to the parable having been spoken three times in slightly varying words, which in this case is not probable, and certainly cannot be proved), the reason of the variations as they occur in the written Gospels must be a literary one, *i.e.* due either to the use of various sources, or to the literary alterations of the evangelists themselves, or to a combination of both causes.

We see, then, that in the case of the double tradition, as in that of the triple, there is a literary problem to be solved; only it is a more intricate one, and one offering us less chance of arriving at an even approximately certain conclusion.

It may, then, be laid down as a working hypothesis that it is reasonable to suppose that the matter more or less common to S. Matthew and S. Luke, other than that which

was probably drawn from the triple or Marcan tradition, is likely to have been derived by the evangelists from written sources.

The document, however, on which the double tradition is based being lost, if it ever existed, can only be reconstructed by means of a careful comparison of those parts of S. Matthew and S. Luke in which it is assumed to be embedded.

The process of reconstruction is, however, beset by many difficulties ; for though some scholars are of opinion that S. Luke was acquainted with S. Matthew's Gospel, nobody seriously contends that he used it continuously as a source and derived the matter common to these two Gospels direct from it. At most, it is held that his acquaintance with S. Matthew's Gospel may have influenced to some extent the wording of passages which he derived from a source that had also been used by S. Matthew.

It remains, then, an open question whether S. Luke or S. Matthew preserves the source more accurately on the whole, and to approach the comparison of the two Gospels with a bias in one direction or the other is only likely to hamper us.

We have seen that in order to establish the fact that two writers derived similar matter from one common written source it is necessary that they should exhibit agreement not in wording only, but in order as well. Now when, as in the present case, we are dealing with two writings only, the difficulty of arriving at satisfactory conclusions is very great.

First, there is the difficulty of deciding the exact amount of verbal agreement which will justify us in attributing two passages to a common source at all if they appear in different contexts ; and the matter contained in the

double tradition exhibits every degree of agreement and disagreement, in some cases being almost identical word for word in both Gospels, in others differing very widely in expression.

Secondly, there are difficulties with regard to the order in which the passages occur. In some cases this is fixed by historical considerations, *e.g.* in the case of the account of our Lord's temptation; in others the fact that two sayings occur close together in both Gospels if they deal with the same subject does not necessarily imply that they were found side by side in the source, since it is always possible that similarity of subject-matter may have led both evangelists to group them together.

Thirdly, there is the difficulty that the assumed second source of S. Matthew and S. Luke, 'Q' as it is now commonly called (from the German 'Quelle,' 'source'), may have, almost certainly must have, contained some matter also recorded in S. Mark, so that any reconstruction of 'Q' based on a collection of the non-Markan matter common to the other two synoptists will necessarily be defective.

It will be noticed that these difficulties tell most heavily against the theory that 'Q' was one document; for if S. Matthew and S. Luke used more than one non-Markan source, or derived their common matter, other than that drawn from S. Mark, from distinct sources, which were, however, in turn partly dependent on an earlier document, 'Q,' the difficulties to a large extent disappear. For instance, we shall then be justified in assuming that those passages which exhibit close agreement in wording or order are derived from a common source, or, at any rate, from a document nearly related to a common source; while, in the case of passages which exhibit marked differences of

wording, or which occur in widely different contexts, it will be reasonable to assume that derivation from a common source is improbable.

As, however, a large number of critics are of opinion that the whole, or nearly the whole, of the double tradition is derived from one common source, 'Q,' it will be best to examine this theory and the objections to it. The chief arguments in favour of this theory may be briefly summarised as follows :—

i. In many places the verbal agreement is very close indeed.

ii. In passages where the agreement is generally less close there are coincidences in expression which seem to imply derivation from a written source.

iii. That as S. Matthew and S. Luke both alter the wording of S. Mark freely at times, it is highly probable that they would also alter the wording of a second source in a similar way.

iv. That if that second source consisted mainly of sayings arranged without any pretence of chronological sequence, their frequent differences in order and arrangement are not hard to account for.

v. That in one case where they exhibit marked differences of wording they also display a striking resemblance in arrangement, viz. in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain. Here both evangelists represent our Lord as speaking a discourse of some length, which opens with beatitudes, contains injunctions to love our enemies and to refrain from resisting evil, and concludes with warnings against insincerity, clinched by the similitude of the house built on the rock.

vi. That as this common matter implies the use of a

common Greek source, it is more probable that one such source would have perished than several. So far there is a considerable agreement among critics, but as to the question whether S. Matthew or S. Luke preserves the source more closely there is no little difference of opinion.

Attempts have been made to show that the original order of 'Q' can to some extent be discovered. For instance, in the *Sayings of Jesus* Harnack takes a series of 'Q' passages which occur in S. Matthew viii. 19-x. 39 (omitting some short sayings which he hesitates to attribute to 'Q'), and shows that these passages occur in the same order in S. Luke ix. 57-xvii. 33. This agreement shows he thinks that these passages occurred in this order in 'Q,' only S. Luke has scattered them more widely than S. Matthew. We append a list of them.

TABLE I

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. The two aspirants, . . .	ix. 57-60	viii. 19-22
2. The harvest is great, . . .	x. 2	ix. 37-38
3. Peace be to this house, . . .	x. 5, 6	x. 12, 13
4. More tolerable for Sodom, . . .	x. 12	x. 15
5. Nothing is hid, etc., . . .	xii. 2-9	x. 26-33
6. Division in households, . . .	xii. 51-53	x. 34-36
7. If any hate not his father, . . .	xiv. 26	x. 37
8. Bearing the cross, . . .	xiv. 27	x. 38
9. Forsaking all, . . .	xvii. 33	x. 39

At first sight the amount of agreement here displayed is very striking; but it may fairly be asked, Is it not possibly only an accident? If a similar list of passages can be drawn up from the supposed 'Q' matter, in which passages which appear in the same order in both Gospels are kept together by S. Luke but scattered by S. Matthew,

will not the inference drawn by Harnack from this list of passages be practically invalidated ?

As a matter of fact, a somewhat shorter but no less striking list of passages occurring close together in S. Luke, but considerably scattered in S. Matthew, can be drawn up.

TABLE II

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. The two aspirants, . . .	ix. 57-60	viii. 19-22
2. The harvest is great, . . .	x. 2	ix. 37-38
3. Peace be to this house, . . .	x. 5, 6	x. 12, 13
4. More tolerable for Sodom, . . .	x. 12	x. 15
5. Woe to Chorazin, etc., . . .	x. 13-15	xi. 21-23 ^a
6. Things hidden from the wise, . . .	x. 21, 22	xi. 25-27
7. Many kings have desired, . . .	x. 23-24	xiii. 16-17

Here it will be noticed that the first four passages in each table are the same, but the remainder different. The fact that it is possible to construct two such tables, the first apparently proving that S. Matthew preserves the order of Q,' and the second apparently proving that S. Luke does so, seems to indicate that neither table is of much value.

Moreover, both tables are somewhat artificial, for S. Luke x. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 16 are left out of count in both tables, though the parallels to them in S. Matthew are at least as close as in the case of some of the passages inserted.

It seems, then, that the differences of order between S. Matthew and S. Luke are not only apparent but real, and that Harnack's attempt to show the existence of a real, but not obvious, agreement breaks down.

The strongest argument in favour of the view that S. Matthew and S. Luke employed one document as the source of their common non-Marcan matter are based on the fact stated above, (i.) that there is a certain general

resemblance between S. Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and S. Luke's Sermon on the Plain. Both begin with a series of beatitudes; both contain a series of sayings enforcing the law of love; both contain warnings against judging, and conclude with the similitude of the house built on the rock. Further, in both Gospels the sermon is followed closely by the non-Markan narrative of the centurion's servant.

The last fact certainly does strongly suggest that the sermon and the miracle must have stood side by side in some earlier document used directly or indirectly by S. Matthew and S. Luke. This, however, is not the only possible explanation of the coincidence. In S. Matthew's Gospel the healing of the centurion's servant occurs between the healing of the leper and that of Simon's wife's mother, in a narrative passage in which S. Matthew places events in an order different from that of S. Mark and S. Luke. Now if, as is possible, S. Matthew had documentary authority for his variation of the order of events in this part of his Gospel, the reason for the centurion's servant standing where it does may have been that S. Matthew had some good reason for connecting it closely, as he does, with the healing of the leper, and its proximity to the Sermon on the Mount in his Gospel may not be due to his having drawn both from the same document. Again, in S. Luke the healing of the centurion's servant immediately precedes the raising of the widow of Nain's son, and it is possible that S. Luke may have found them so placed in one of his sources.

Both these explanations of the place in which the miracle under discussion occurs are, of course, hypothetical; but the fact that they are possibilities tends to diminish the force of the argument derived from the fact that in S. Luke

the miracle immediately follows the Sermon on the Plain, and in S. Matthew is separated from the Sermon on the Mount only by the healing of the leper.

Nor must it be forgotten that this miracle presents difficulties to those who hold that all the 'Q' matter in S. Matthew and S. Luke was derived by them from one document; for it is the only miracle recorded in detail in that matter, and with the exception of the temptation of Christ, the only piece of continuous narrative. Some indeed urge that the narrative is given not as a record of a miracle, but merely as a setting for the saying: 'I have not found so great faith in any one in Israel' (S. Luke vii. 9); but this argument is unconvincing, for by parity of reasoning it might be urged that S. Mark recorded the healing of the paralytic only as a setting for the saying about the Son of Man having power on earth to forgive sins, or that of the boy with the dumb spirit to provide a setting for the saying: 'All things are possible to him that believeth.'

(ii.) The passage containing the accusation that Jesus casts out devils through diabolical agency presents many striking resemblances in the two Gospels. In this case complications arise from the fact that S. Mark also records some of the matter found in S. Matthew and S. Luke, and further complications from the fact that this passage is one of those in S. Mark which is most reasonably suspected of being a later addition to that Gospel. On the other hand, S. Matthew gives us the charge twice over; in neither case, however, does he give it in the same context as S. Mark does.

The resemblances will be seen best if the account given by S. Luke be placed side by side with that in S. Matthew, which most closely resembles it.

S. LUKE XI. 14-32.

14. And he was casting out a dumb demon. But it came to pass, the demon having gone out, the dumb spake. And the multitudes wondered.

15. But some of them said, In Beelzebub the prince of the demons he casts out the demons.

16. But others tempting sought from him a sign from heaven.

17. But he knowing their thoughts (*διανοήματα*) said to them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house against a house falls.

18. But if Satan be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out the demons in Beelzebub.

19. But if I in Beelzebub cast out the demons, in whom do your sons cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.

20. But if in the finger of God I cast out the demons, assuredly

S. MATTHEW XII. 22-45.

22. Then they brought to him a man possessed with a demon blind and dumb. And he healed him so that the dumb man spake and saw. 23. And the multitudes were astonished and said, Is not this the Son of David?

24. But the Pharisees having heard said, This man does not cast out the demons but in Beelzebub prince of the demons.

Cf. S. MATTHEW IX. 32-34.

[32. But as they are coming out behold they brought to him a dumb man possessed with a demon.

33. And the demon having been cast out the dumb spake: and the multitudes wondered saying, Never was it so seen in Israel.

34. But the Pharisees said, In the prince of the demons he casts out the demons.]

XII. 25. But he knowing their thoughts (*ἐνθυμήσεις*) said to them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.

26. And if Satan cast out Satan he has been divided against himself. How then shall his kingdom stand?

27. But if I in Beelzebub cast out the demons, in whom do your sons cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.

28. But if in the spirit of God I cast out the demons, assuredly

the kingdom of God is come upon you.

21. When the strong man armed guards his own court his goods are in peace ;

22. But when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour, in which he trusted, and divides his spoils.

23. He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.

24. When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man it goes through waterless places seeking rest; and not finding then it says, I will return to my house whence I came out.

25. And having come it finds it empty, swept and garnished.

26. Then it goes and takes other spirits more wicked than itself, seven, and they having gone in dwell there, and the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.

27. And it came to pass, as he was saying these things, a certain woman out of the multitude having lifted up her voice said,

the kingdom of God is come upon you.

29. Or how can any one enter into the house of the strong man and plunder his possessions, unless he first bind the strong man? then shall he plunder his house.

30. He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.

31. } = S. Mark iii. 28-30
32. }

33. } = { S. Luke vi. 43-45
34. } = { (cf. S. Matthew vii.
35. } = { 16-18).

36. But I say unto you that every idle word whatsoever men speak they shall give account of in the day of judgment.

37. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

43. But when the unclean spirit is gone out of a man it goes through waterless places seeking rest, and does not find.

44. Then it says, Into my house I will return whence I came out, and having come it finds it empty and swept and garnished.

45. Then it goes and takes with itself seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and having gone in they dwell there, and the last state of that man becomes worse than the first. So shall it be also to this wicked generation. [46-50 = S. Mark iii. 31-35] (containing the saying: 'For whoever shall do the will of my

Blessed the womb which bare thee
and the paps which thou hast
sucked.

28. But he said, Yea rather,
blessed they who hear and keep
the word of God.

29. But the multitudes throng-
ing him he began to say, This
generation is a wicked genera-
tion; it seeks a sign, and a sign
shall not be given to it except the
sign of Jonah,

30. For as Jonah was a sign to
the Ninevites so shall the Son of
man be to this generation.

31. The queen of the south
shall arise in the judgment with
the men of this generation and
shall condemn them, because she
came from the ends of the earth to
hear the wisdom of Solomon, and
behold more than Solomon is here.

32. The Ninevite men shall arise
in the judgment with this genera-
tion, because they repented at the
preaching of Jonah, and behold
more than Jonah is here.

Father which is in the heavens,
he is my brother and sister and
mother').

38. Then answered him some of
the scribes and Pharisees saying,
Master, we would see a sign from
thee.

39. But answering he said to
them, An evil and adulterous
generation seeks a sign, and a
sign shall not be given to it except
the sign of Jonah the prophet;

40. For as Jonah was three
days and three nights in the belly
of the whale, so shall the Son of
man be three days and three
nights in the heart of the earth.

42. The queen of the south
shall arise in the judgment with
this generation and shall condemn
it, because she came from the
ends of the earth to hear the
wisdom of Solomon, and behold
more than Solomon is here.

41. The Ninevite men shall
arise in the judgment with this
generation and shall condemn it,
because they repented at the
preaching of Jonah, and behold
more than Jonah is here.

S. Luke throughout this passage is practically independ-
ent of the similar discourse contained in S. Mark iii. 22-35,
though there is considerable general agreement in subject-
matter between the two passages. S. Matthew, on the
other hand, agrees with S. Mark in several respects.

1. He inserts the passage about blasphemy against the

Holy Spirit, and that about the coming of our Lord's mother and brethren, not found in this portion of S. Luke.

- II. He gives the similitude of the strong man in a form closely resembling S. Mark's and widely differing from S. Luke's.
- III. In one or two minor details he exhibits an acquaintance with and use of the Marcan form of the discourse.

But the discourse as it appears in S. Matthew cannot be accounted for on the supposition that it is merely the Marcan one supplemented with matter from another source, independently of the Lucan form; both S. Matthew and S. Luke represent the charge of healing by diabolical agency as made against Christ immediately after the healing of a man possessed with a dumb demon; both include the passage about the exorcised demon who returned bringing seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and both give in close proximity with this the sayings about Jonah and the Queen of the South, though it is not quite certain whether S. Luke intended this last passage to be regarded as forming part of the same discourse as the sayings spoken with reference to the charge of healing by diabolical agency. Further, in the passage about Satan casting out Satan, S. Matthew and S. Luke agree fairly closely with one another and differ considerably from S. Mark.

It may, then, reasonably be concluded that in some source other than S. Mark a fairly connected passage was found, consisting of the following matter:—

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. Healing of a dumb demoniac, .	xi. 14	xii. 22
2. Charge of using diabolic agency,	15	24
3. 'If Satan cast out Satan,' etc.,	17-20	25-28
4. The strong man armed, . . .	21-22	29
5. 'He that is not with me,' etc.,	23	30
6. The demon also brought seven others,	24-26	43-45
7. The sign of Jonah,	29-30	39-40]
8. Queen of the South will con- demn, etc.,	31	42
9. The men of Nineveh will con- demn, etc.,	32	41

S. Matthew and S. Luke both contain a few details not recorded by the other or by S. Mark in this place, and there are one or two slight differences of order ; further, the passage as a whole does not occur in the same context in the two Gospels.

It seems certain, then, that S. Matthew and S. Luke both derive the non-Marcian portions of the passage from some source ; whether directly from the same source we cannot be sure. For the case stands thus : If we knew for certain that the two evangelists drew largely from one common written source other than S. Mark we could confidently assign this passage to it ; but as this is just the point at issue, we are bound to admit, in view of the different contexts in which the passage occurs, and the slight differences of order and wording within it, that the phenomena would be adequately explained by the assumption that the two evangelists derived it from two different documents, which had, in turn, derived it from some common written source.

There is no clear evidence to show that this passage was

drawn from the same document as that from which the Sermon on the Mount (or Plain) and the healing of the centurion's servant were drawn. Indeed, from one point of view, the occurrence of the narrative of the healing of the centurion's servant amid the 'Q' matter tends rather to raise a presumption against the view that this matter was derived by both S. Matthew and S. Luke from one and the same document, for it calls our attention to the nature of the contents of this document. These, as far as they can be ascertained by a comparison of the two Gospels, consist of:—

1. The teaching of S. John Baptist.
2. The temptation of Christ.
3. The coming of S. John's messengers to Christ, and His reply to their question.
4. The healing of the centurion's servant.
5. A quantity of sayings, including a few parables.

The document cannot have been anything that could be called a gospel, for, as far as can be ascertained, it did not include any account of the Passion or Resurrection; nor can it have been a collection of Christ's sayings, for in such a collection the teaching of the Baptist, the Temptation, and the healing of the centurion's servant (especially the last) are quite out of place.

Indeed, the document which by the greatest ingenuity can be constructed out of the common matter in S. Matthew and S. Luke, not found in S. Mark, is such an amorphous thing, and in its contents so unlike anything that anybody is ever likely to have written, that scepticism as to its existence as a separate entity seems wholly reasonable.

If we found a large amount of narrative matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke, but not found in S. Mark,

scattered throughout the whole extent of the two Gospels, it would justify us in assuming that both evangelists had used another Gospel narrative as one of their sources. But this is exactly what we do not find, since the healing of the centurion's servant is practically the only narrative common to both which is not found also in S. Mark ; for the accounts of our Lord's infancy given by S. Matthew and S. Luke are obviously independent of one another, and derived from different sources.

If we found that the common non-Marcian matter consisted of sayings only, we should be justified in suspecting the use, directly or indirectly, of a common source which was a collection of sayings only ; but the presence of the account of the Temptation and of the healing of the centurion's servant forbids us to draw this conclusion.

If we found clear and consistent traces of agreement in order in the apparently common non-Marcian matter, it would suggest the probability that all this matter was derived directly from one common source, however unlikely this matter might seem to be as the whole, or at any rate the main, contents of a document. But agreement in order is just what we do not find.

It is not improbable that Papias's statement about the Logia of S. Matthew has unconsciously influenced the minds of many critics. They have felt that the similarities of S. Matthew and S. Luke need explaining : Papias's statement has suggested the explanation that a collection of Christ's sayings of apostolic origin would account for these likenesses, and so they have tried to account for them by the hypothesis that both evangelists used the same collection of sayings. Thus a bias has been introduced, and difficulties in the way of accepting such an explanation have been unduly slurred over.

Another reason, which accounts for the wide acceptance of the view that S. Matthew and S. Luke used one common non-Marcan source, is that sufficient attention has not always been given to the widely varying amount of agreement and divergence which they display in the wording of passages in which the subject-matter is similar.

If, however, the theory that S. Matthew and S. Luke derived the 'double tradition' direct from one written source cannot be regarded as proved, there is still considerable evidence that kindred written sources lie behind this portion of the Gospels. The lack of general agreement in order, which tells so heavily against one common source, has little weight against the theory of kindred sources.

Again, the varying degree of verbal agreement exhibited in different passages is in favour of the latter hypothesis. An examination, however, of the passages in which verbal agreement is closest fails to show a sufficient agreement in order to prove that even these passages were derived directly from a common source. It will be well, therefore, carefully to consider the theory that the Q matter in S. Matthew and S. Luke was derived from two or more different sources, but that these documents themselves were, in part at any rate, based directly or indirectly on an earlier common source or sources.

If it be said that this theory is somewhat complex, we may reply that the phenomena it seeks to explain are complex also.

First, the various portions of Q matter must be tabulated in accordance with the degree of verbal resemblance exhibited, so that it may be seen for how much of it it is reasonable to assume an ultimate common Greek original.

TABLE III.

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. Teaching of the Baptist, . . .	iii. 7-9, 17	iii. 7-10, 12
2. The mote and the beam, . . .	vi. 41, 42	vii. 3-5
3. Sayings regarding the Baptist,	{ vii. 18-28	xi. 7-11
	{ 31-35	16-19
4. The harvest is plenteous, . . .	x. 2	ix. 37-38
5. 'More tolerable for Sodom,' . . .	x. 12	x. 15
6. Woe on Chorazin, etc., . . .	x. 13-15	xi. 20-23
7. Things hidden from the wise, . . .	x. 21-23	xi. 25-27
8. Persevere in prayer, . . .	xi. 9-13	vii. 7-11
9. Can Satan cast out Satan, . . .	xi. 17-20	xii. 25-28
10. He that is not with me, . . .	xi. 23	xii. 30
11. The exorcised demon, . . .	xi. 24-26	xii. 43-45
12. Sayings against anxiety, . . .	xii. 22-31	vi. 25-34
13. Faithful and unfaithful servants,	{ xii. 39-40	xxiv. 43-51
	{ 42-46	
14. Parables of mustard seed and leaven,	xiii. 18-21	xiii. 31-33
15. God and Mammon,	xvi. 13	vi. 24

With regard to the matter contained in this table, it will be noticed that there is no general agreement as to order ; that its contents consist almost wholly of sayings ; and that in several cases the sayings are given in different contexts, *e.g.* of the four passages which in S. Matthew occur in the Sermon on the Mount only one occurs in S. Luke in the Sermon on the Plain. The order and arrangement of the matter, therefore, does not prove that the two evangelists derived it from one common document ; though they may have done so, and rearranged it to suit the plan of their own Gospels.

The closeness of the verbal resemblances may be shown by placing a few of the parallel passages side by side.

II. S. LUKE VI. 41-42.

But why dost thou see the mote which is in thy brother's eye, but the beam which is in thine own eye thou dost not perceive. How art thou able to say to thy brother, Brother, allow me to cast out the mote which is in thine eye, thyself not perceiving the beam which is in thine own eye. Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clear the mote which is in thy brother's eye to cast out.

S. MATTHEW VII. 3-5.

But why dost thou see the mote which is in thy brother's eye, but the beam which is in thine own eye thou dost not perceive. Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Allow me to cast the mote out of thine eye, and lo! the beam is in thine own eye.

Thou hypocrite, cast out first out of thine own eye the beam, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

IV. S. LUKE X. 2.

But he was saying to them, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the labourers few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest in order that labourers he may cast forth into his harvest.

S. MATTHEW IX. 37, 38.

Then he says to his disciples, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the labourers few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest in order that he may cast forth labourers into his harvest.

XI. S. LUKE XI. 24-26.

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man it passes through waterless places seeking rest: and not finding them it says, I will return into my house whence I came out, and having come it finds it empty, swept and garnished, then it goes and takes other spirits more wicked than itself, seven, and entering in they dwell there. And the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.

S. MATTHEW XII. 43-45.

But when the unclean spirit is gone out of a man it passes through waterless places seeking rest; and it does not find. Then it says, Into my house I will return whence I came out, and having come it finds it empty, and swept and garnished, then it goes and takes with itself seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and entering in they dwell there. And the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.

The resemblances of the other passages contained in Table III. are equally close. That all these are practically transcripts from a common Greek original cannot for a moment be doubted. We must here, however, notice a

possibility which will have to be constantly borne in mind in considering the relations of S. Matthew and S. Luke, viz. that even those passages which seem most certainly to have been derived ultimately from a common written Greek source may not have been derived by both evangelists directly from that source. One or both may have derived them from a document based on that source. If for the source we adopt the symbol now commonly used to denote it, Q, we may say that possibly S. Luke used one document, and S. Matthew another, in the compilation of which Q had been used; in so doing we shall be making no assumptions as to the nature of Q itself, or of the documents assumed to have been used immediately by the evangelists. The vital point is that to prove the use of *one document* by two writers we require agreement in order and arrangement as well as wording: agreement in wording alone proves only the use of a *common source*, which may have been employed by the two evangelists through the medium of two different documents. This distinction between a common source and a common document is of the highest importance in the matter under discussion.

TABLE IV.

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. Saying of the Baptist, . . .	iii. 16	iii. 11-12
2. Temptation of Christ, . . .	iv. 1-13	iv. 1-11
3. Sayings from the Sermon, . . .	{ vi. 31 vi. 37-38	vii. 12 vii. 1, 2
4. Blind leaders,	vi. 39	xv. 14
5. The servant and his lord, . . .	vi. 40	x. 24, 25
6. The good tree,	vi. 43-45	xii. 33-35 (cf. vii. 16-18)
7. The house on the rock, . . .	vi. 47-49	vii. 24-27

TABLE IV.—*continued*

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
8. Centurion's servant, . . .	vii. 1-10.	viii. 5-13
9. The two aspirants, . . .	ix. 57-60	viii. 18-22
10. Charge to the disciples, . . .	x. 2-11	{ ix. 37-38 x. 7-16
11. 'Many prophets and kings,' etc.,	x. 23-24	xiii. 16, 17
12. The deaf demon,	xi. 14	{ ix. 32-33 xii. 22-24
13. Warnings,	xi. 29-32	xii. 38-42
14. The light of the body, . . .	xi. 34-35	vi. 22, 23
15. Saying about Pharisees, . . .	xi. 39-52	{ xxiii. 4, 6, 23- 36
16. Nothing is secret, etc., . . .	xii. 2-9	x. 26-33
17. Blasphemy against the Spirit,	xii. 10	xii. 31-32
18. Fear not, little flock, . . .	xii. 32-34	vi. 19-21
19. Agree with your adversary, . .	xii. 58-59	v. 25-26
20. Inheritors of the kingdom, . .	xiii. 28-29	viii. 11, 12
21. Wail over Jerusalem,	xiii. 34-35	xxiii. 37-39
22. He that exalts himself,	xiv. 11	xxiii. 12
23. Salt is good,	xiv. 34, 35	v. 13
24. Saying on divorce,	xvi. 18	v. 32
25. Suddenness of Christ's coming,	xvii. 23, 24	xxiv. 23, 26, 27
26. The days of Noah,	xvii. 26, 27	xxiv. 37-39
27. Where the carcase is,	xvii. 37	xxiv. 28.

With regard to the matter contained in this table it should be noticed, first, that there is no general agreement as to order; secondly, that of the eight passages in S. Matthew which occur in the Sermon on the Mount three only are found in S. Luke in the Sermon on the Plain; thirdly, that, although there are two or three pieces of narrative, the greater portion of the matter consists of sayings. A certain number of passages must now be examined in detail to show (1) the amount of verbal agreement; (2) the amount of difference which makes us hesi-

tate to attribute this matter to a common written source with any confidence.

III. S. LUKE VI. 31, 37, 38.

(31) And according as ye wish that men should do unto you do to them likewise.

(37) And do not judge and ye shall not be judged . . .

(38) For with what measure ye measure, it shall be measured again to you.

S. MATTHEW VII. 12, 1, 2.

(12) All things therefore whatever ye may wish that men should do unto you, so also do ye to them.

(1) Judge not in order that ye be not judged. . . .

(2) For in what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you.

Here it will be noticed that while there is a considerable agreement in wording, the words employed are for the most part common ones, while there are also the variations to be reckoned with. The sayings do not occur in the Gospels in quite the same context. They are short, pithy sayings that might easily have been retained in the memory, and handed down by word of mouth. Very close agreement in wording is necessary to prove a common literary origin for sayings of this kind when they are not found in exactly the same context. In this and similar cases (cf. Nos. XXII., XXIV., XXVII., in Table IV.), while derivation direct or mediate from a common source provides a probable explanation of the verbal similarities, these similarities are not close enough to render this explanation the only possible one, though in some cases it may appear a slightly more probable one than any other which can be suggested.

VI. S. LUKE VI. 43-45.

For there is not a fine tree making evil fruit nor again an evil tree making fine fruit; for each tree is known from its own

S. MATTHEW XII. 33-35.

Either make the tree good and its fruit good or make the tree evil and its fruit evil; for from the fruit the tree is known. [Ye

fruit. For from thorns they do not gather figs nor from a bramble bush do they reap a bunch of grapes; the good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth the good, and the wicked out of the wicked brings forth the wicked, for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaks.

generation of vipers, how can ye being wicked speak good things.] For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. The good man out of the good treasure casts forth good things and the wicked man out of the wicked treasure casts forth wicked things.

S. MATTHEW VII. 16-18.

From their fruits ye shall know them: do they gather bunches of grapes from thorns, or from thistles, figs? So every good tree makes good fruits, but the wicked tree makes evil fruits. A good tree cannot bring forth wicked fruits nor an evil tree make fine fruits.

The problems raised by such a passage are numerous, and not easy to solve. As they stand in S. Matthew the two similar sayings look as though they might be the same saying derived from different sources or traditions. S. Luke's version has affinities to both versions, and differences from both. Some of the resemblances are too close to allow it to be assumed that we have wholly independent Greek renderings of a common Aramaic original; some of the divergences are too great for it to be highly probable that both evangelists drew directly from a common Greek source. Perhaps the most probable account of such sayings is that they have a rather complicated history, and that the ultimate literary source of them did not lie before both evangelists, perhaps did not lie before either.

VIII. S. LUKE VII. 1-10.

He came into Capernaum. But a slave of a certain centurion being very ill was about to die who was precious to him. But having heard concerning Jesus he sent to him elders of the Jews asking him that coming he would save his slave. But they having come to Jesus exhorted him earnestly, saying, that he is worthy for whom thou shalt do this, for he loves our nation, and he has built the synagogue for us. But Jesus went with them. But he being already not far away from the house, the centurion sent friends to him saying, Lord, do not trouble thyself for I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof, therefore did I not deem myself fit to come to thee, but speak by a word and let my servant be healed. For I also am a man set under authority having soldiers under me, and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh, and to my slave, Do this, and he doeth it.

But having heard these things Jesus marvelled at him, and having turned to the multitude which follows him he said, I say to you, not even in Israel have I found so great faith.

S. MATTHEW VIII. 5-13.

But he having come into Capernaum there came to him a centurion exhorting him and saying, Lord, my servant lies in the house paralytic, grievously tormented. He says to him, I coming will heal him.

But the centurion having answered said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof,

but only speak by a word and my servant shall be healed. For I also am a man set under authority having soldiers under me, and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh, and to my slave, Do this, and he doeth it.

But Jesus having heard marvelled and said to those following, Verily I say unto you, in nobody in Israel have I found so great faith.

But I say to you that many from the east and the west shall come and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens. But the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness. There shall be the wailing and the gnashing of

And those who had been sent returning to the house found the slave made whole.

teeth. And Jesus said to the centurion, Go, as thou hast believed let it be done unto thee. And in that hour his servant was healed.

XX. S. LUKE XIII. 28-29.

There shall be the wailing and the gnashing of teeth when ye shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God and yourselves cast out outside ; and they shall come from the east and the west and the north and the south and shall recline in the kingdom of God.

The resemblances in the words of the centurion are very striking indeed : the differences in the general telling of the story, which occurs in a similar context, in both Gospels, are striking also. S. Matthew's account is much shorter than S. Luke's and should be compared with his narrative of the healing of Jairus's daughter ; since in the latter case S. Mark and S. Luke agree in giving greater detail, it is probable that S. Matthew is abbreviating, and if he abbreviates in the one case, he is not unlikely to have done so in the other also.

S. Matthew inserts here the saying about the inheritors of the kingdom, which S. Luke gives elsewhere in quite a different context.

A literary relation between the two passages taken as wholes seems well-nigh certain, but if both evangelists drew directly from a common source, one or both of them must have altered the wording of that source very freely in places. Such direct use of a common source is not here excluded by the evidence, but an indirect use in

one or both cases would also be consonant with the facts.

xxvii. S. LUKE xvii. 37.

S. MATTHEW xxiv. 28.

Where the body (is) there also the eagles will be gathered together to it (*ἐπισυναχθήσονται*).

Wherever may be the corpse there will be gathered together the eagles (*συναχθήσονται*).

This is given merely as an instance of the kind of variation in wording which makes us hesitate to ascribe the presence of similar short sayings in both Gospels to the direct use by the two evangelists of a common Greek source.

The examination of the passages contained in Table iv. leads us to the conclusion that while it is probable that somewhere behind them there lies a common Greek source, it is not probable that both S. Matthew and S. Luke drew them directly from that source, but that the evidence here favours the hypothesis already suggested as a possible one in connection with the passages contained in Table iii., that one or perhaps both evangelists drew the matter we are discussing from documents, which were in turn based upon one common source, *i.e.* the relation of S. Matthew and S. Luke to their common source is not immediate but mediate.

TABLE V

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. The Beatitudes, . . .	vi. 20-23	v. 3-12
2. 'Love your enemies,' . . .	{ vi. 27-30 vi. 32-36	v. 39, 40, 42, 44 v. 45, 46, 48
3. Why call ye me Lord, . . .	vi. 46	vii. 21.
4. Sending forth Apostles, . . .	ix. 2	x. 1
5. 'He that heareth you,' etc., . . .	x. 16	x. 40
6. The Lord's Prayer, . . .	xi. 2-4	vi. 9-13
7. The dumb demon, . . .	xi. 14, 15	{ ix. 32-34 xii. 22-24

TABLE V.—*continued*

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
8. Saying about a lamp, . . .	xi. 33	v. 15
9. Division, not peace, . . .	xii. 51-53	x. 34-36
10. The narrow gate, . . .	xiii. 24	vii. 13
11. He who loveth father or mother,	xiv. 26-27	x. 37, 38
12. The parable of the lost sheep, .	xv. 4-7	xviii. 12-14
13. Taking the kingdom by violence,	xvi. 16	xi. 12-13
14. The law shall not fail, . . .	xvi. 17	v. 18
15. Of causing scandals, . . .	xvii. 1.	xviii. 7
16. Forgiveness,	xvii. 3-4	{ xviii. 15, 21, 22
17. Faith as a grain of mustard seed,	xvii. 6	{ xvii. 20 xxi. 21
18. Who would save his life, . . .	xvii. 33	x. 39
19. One shall be taken the other left,	xvii. 34-35	xxiv. 40, 41
20. Ye shall sit on twelve thrones,	xxii. 28-30	xix. 27, 28

The matter contained in this table consists chiefly of short detached sayings given by the two evangelists in different contexts, having general resemblances in subject-matter, but comparatively slight resemblances in wording. The most important passages are i, ii, vi, and xi, and these we must consider carefully in detail.

I. S. LUKE VI. 20-23.

20. Blessed are ye poor, because yours is the kingdom of God.

21. Blessed are ye that hunger now, because ye shall be filled.

Blessed are ye that weep now, because ye shall laugh.

S. MATTHEW V. 3-12.

3. Blessed are the poor in spirit, because theirs is the kingdom of the heavens.

6. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, because they shall be filled.

4. Blessed are they that mourn, because they shall be comforted.

5. Blessed are the meek, because they shall inherit the earth.

7. Blessed are the merciful, because they shall obtain mercy.

8. Blessed are the pure in heart,
because they shall see God.

9. Blessed are the peacemakers,
because they shall be called sons
of God.

10. Blessed are they that have
been persecuted for righteousness'
sakes, because theirs is the king-
dom of the heavens.

22. Blessed are ye when men
shall hate you, and when they shall
separate you off and reproach you
and cast out your name as wicked
on account of the son of man.

23. Rejoice in that day and
dance, for behold your reward is
great in the heaven, for their
fathers did after the same manner
to the prophets.

11. Blessed are ye when men
shall reproach you and persecute
you, and, lying, say all manner of
evil against you on my account.

12. Rejoice and be exceeding
glad, because your reward is great
in the heavens, for thus did they
persecute the prophets which
were before you.

The long beatitude with which the series closes in both Gospels presents striking resemblances: especially notable is the fact that in both Gospels it begins, 'Blessed are ye,' while in the case of all the other beatitudes S. Matthew begins 'Blessed are they.' The differences, however, are striking also, and though, if the passage stood alone, they might not seem incompatible with derivation direct from a common source, they are sufficiently great to make it quite reasonable to suspect that the passage has not in fact been derived by both S. Matthew and S. Luke directly from the same document. This suspicion will be strengthened when we turn back to consider the earlier beatitudes.

Here we notice that S. Luke has only three to compare with the eight preserved in S. Matthew, and even in these three the differences are not small. Especially is this the case with S. Luke's third beatitude, for his 'Blessed are ye that weep, for ye shall laugh' is only parallel to S. Matthew's 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be

comforted' in substance, and save for the one word 'blessed' not at all in wording.

Indeed, if we assume that S. Matthew and S. Luke both derived the beatitudes directly from the same document, we must also assume that one or other, if not both of them, has altered his source in a most drastic manner. It is not, however, unreasonable to assume that the beatitudes were preserved in several documents and in several varying forms, for they are short, trenchant sayings which would be sure to live in the memory of many who heard them. The verbal differences between the two Gospels here seem almost to forbid us to account for the much slighter verbal agreements by postulating a common source used directly by both evangelists.

II. S. LUKE VI. 27-30, 32-36.

27. But I say to you (*ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω*), to you that hear, Love your enemies, . . . 28. and pray concerning those who use you spitefully.

29. To him that strikes thee upon the cheek offer also the other, and from him who takes away (*αἶροντος*) thy coat do not withhold thy cloak also.

30. To every one that asks thee give (*δίδου*), and from him that takes away thy goods ask them not back.

32. And if ye love those that love you, what thanks is there to you? for the sinners love those that love them;

33. And if ye do good to those that do good to you what thanks is there to you; even the sinners do the same.

S. MATTHEW V. 44, 39-42, 45-48.

44. But I say to you (*ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν*), Love your enemies; and pray for those who persecute you.

39. Whoever gives thee a blow on thy right cheek turn to him also the other.

40. And to him who wishes to be judged of thee, and to receive (*λαβεῖν*) thy cloak grant to him also thy coat. . . .

42. To him that asks thee give (*δός*), and from him that wishes to borrow of thee do not turn away.

46. For if ye love those that love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans do the same? And if ye greet your brethren only, what do ye in excess (*περισσόν*)? do not even the gentiles do the same?

35. And ye shall be sons of the Most High, for he is kind even to the unthankful and wicked.

36. Become pitiful according as your Father is pitiful.

45. That ye may become sons of your Father which is in heaven, because he makes his sun to rise on evil and good, and sends his rain upon just and unjust.

48. Be ye therefore perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.

Here we notice that similar sayings are differently worded, and that the same or similar sayings are not given in the same order. As in the case of the beatitudes, there is an amount of general resemblance which seems to forbid us to regard the two accounts as wholly independent, but the differences are too striking and numerous to allow us to assume that both evangelists had the same document before them.

The most plausible theory, then, here, as in most of the passages contained in Table v., is that they have a somewhat complex literary history, and that if the sayings as found in S. Matthew and S. Luke are ultimately derived from a common written source, they were not copied from it directly by both, possibly not by either evangelist.

VI. S. LUKE XI. 2-4.

Father,
Hallowed be thy name,
thy kingdom come,

our daily bread give us day by day (*καθ' ἡμέραν*)

and forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one who is indebted to us,

and lead us not into temptation.

S. MATTHEW VI. 9-13.

Our Father which art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name,
thy kingdom come,
thy will be done as in heaven also upon earth,

our daily bread give us to-day (*σήμερον*)

and forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors,

and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

In S. Luke Christ speaks the prayer in response to a request of the disciples to teach them to pray. In S. Matthew the prayer occurs as part of the Sermon on the

Mount. If, therefore, both evangelists derived it from the same document, one of them must have placed it in another context from that in which he found it. In this case verbal coincidences are probably of less weight than usual in establishing community of source, for as soon as the prayer passed into common use among Greek-speaking Christians, it is only likely that there would be a tendency for it to assume the same Greek form in all churches that were in communication with one another (*e.g.* the churches founded by S. Paul).

XII. S. LUKE XV. 4-7.

What man of you having a hundred sheep and losing one of them doth not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness and go after that which is lost until he find it? And having found it he lays it on his shoulders rejoicing. And having come into his house he calls together his friends and neighbours, saying to them, Rejoice with me because I have found my sheep which was lost. I say to you that thus there shall be joy in the heaven over one sinner that repents more than over ninety-nine just persons that have no need of repentance.

S. MATTHEW XVIII. 12-14.

What seemeth it to you? If there be to any man a hundred sheep and one of them have wandered astray, doth he not leave the ninety-nine upon the mountains, and having gone seek the one which has wandered? And if it befalls him to find it, verily I say unto you he rejoices more over it than over the ninety-nine which have not wandered. So it is not the will before my Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.

In this parable the differences are so great that we should unhesitatingly account for them as due to the fact that the two evangelists derived it from two independent sources were it not that Harnack believes them to have drawn it from the same source, and further believes he can show that S. Matthew has preserved the original more closely than S. Luke. He notes several points in the Lucan version which he regards as due to the correcting hand of S. Luke,

and arrives at the conclusion that 'here also S. Matthew has the ancient text' (*Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 92, 93). He omits, however, to notice that the opening words of S. Matthew's version, 'What seemeth it to you?' which have no parallel in S. Luke, are a phrase which, as far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, occurs only in the first Gospel; the other places where they are found are S. Matthew xvii. 25; xxi. 28; xxii. 42; xxvi. 66; and not one of these is a passage commonly attributed to the 'double tradition.' The phrase, then, is one characteristic of S. Matthew. This one fact is sufficient to make us doubt the validity of Harnack's other rather fine-drawn arguments; so that, on the whole, it is more probable that the differences here are to be accounted for by the use of different sources than by wholesale alterations of a common source made either by S. Matthew or S. Luke.

This view gains additional support from the fact that the context in which the parable occurs is not the same in the two Gospels.

In S. Luke it is spoken by our Lord in defence of His own action, when the Pharisees murmur at Him for receiving sinners and eating with them; in S. Matthew it is connected with a warning to the disciples that they are not to despise the 'little ones' (*i.e.* children).

The conclusions, therefore, at which we arrive with regard to the matter contained in Table v. are :—

- I. The evangelists most likely derived this matter from different documents.
- II. In some, if not in all, cases a common source may lie behind the documents used by S. Matthew and S. Luke, though in some cases they may be drawing from wholly independent traditions.

- III. If we assume that both evangelists are drawing directly from a common source, we must assume also that one or both of them often alters the wording and arrangement, as well as the context, in a very free manner, so free as to be fairly described as arbitrary.

In such a matter as this certainty is not attainable, but we believe an unbiased examination of the facts will leave most minds dubious as to the possibility of S. Matthew and S. Luke having used a common document as the source of this matter. To assume the use of a common source, and attribute the numerous differences to arbitrary alteration on the part of one evangelist, is bad criticism.

TABLE VI

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. The parable of the great feast,	xiv. 16-24	
2. The parable of the marriage of the king's son,		xxii. 1-14
3. The parable of the pounds, .	xix. 12-27	
4. The parable of the talents, .		xxv. 14-30

In the case of these parables the identification is doubtful. They may be wholly different parables. They are more probably variant traditions of the same parable. In either case they are evidence rather for the use of different sources by S. Matthew and S. Luke than for use of the same source.

The verbal variations are so great, and the verbal resemblances so slight, that they need not be examined here in detail.

Our examination, then, of the double tradition has led us to the conclusion that only a fraction of the matter contained in it can be quite satisfactorily explained on the theory that both evangelists drew on a common document, though for a considerable portion of the rest a satisfactory explanation is offered by the theory that they drew it from different documents, which rested ultimately on a common tradition.

In the next place, a few passages must be examined with a view to showing that the difference to context in the two Gospels seems to imply difference of source.

The first instance is S. Luke x. 2=S. Matthew ix. 37, 38 ('the harvest is much, but the labourers few,' etc.). This is placed by S. Matthew before the charge to the Twelve; by S. Luke in the charge to the Seventy. Three explanations of this difference of context seem to be possible, two of which are consistent with the view that both evangelists drew the saying direct from a common source, and one is not.

- I. The source gave it as S. Matthew does, before the charge to the Twelve, and S. Luke arbitrarily transferred it to the charge to the Seventy.
- II. The source gave it as S. Luke does, before the charge to the Seventy, and S. Matthew arbitrarily transferred it to the charge to the Twelve.
- III. S. Luke derived the mission of and charge to the Seventy from some source not used by S. Matthew, and found this saying in his peculiar source.

In support of this last view it may be urged that the charge to the Seventy in S. Luke contains the fellow-sayings given by S. Matthew in the charge to the Twelve (x. 3, 5-12, 16), in most of which there are fairly considerable

differences of wording. It also contains the 'woe' on Bethsaida and Chorazin which is given by S. Matthew in the discourse which follows the answer to the Baptist's messengers; the injunction to 'carry no purse,' etc., which is more or less similar to the injunction to the Twelve given in both Gospels; and the command, 'Salute no man by the way,' which has no parallel in S. Matthew.

There appears, therefore, to be good reason for supposing that S. Luke derived the charge to the Seventy much as it stands from some source, and did not compile it from one source which recorded the mission of the Seventy, and another which recorded the charge to the Twelve. This view is further supported by the fact that in recording the charge to the Twelve S. Luke follows S. Mark fairly closely.

If this view be correct it follows that we must remove from Table III. Nos. IV., V., VI., VII., and from Table IV. Nos. X. and XI., as being derived by S. Luke from a peculiar source, and not from one used also by S. Matthew.

The next case, which is in a way connected with the foregoing one, concerns the saying about things hidden from the wise and revealed to babes (x. 21). This in S. Luke follows the return of the Seventy, and comes shortly, but not immediately, after the 'woe' on Bethsaida; in S. Matthew it immediately follows the 'woe' on Bethsaida, and forms part of the discourse following the answer to the Baptist's messengers. Further, in both Gospels it is in turn followed by the saying, 'No man knoweth who the Son is save the Father,' etc. (S. Luke x. 22). Clearly, then, there is some literary connection between these three passages, since in both Gospels they stand in close proximity, though in a different context. S. Luke closes this group of sayings (x. 23, 24) with the saying, 'Blessed are the eyes

which see the things which ye see,' etc., a similar saying to which is found in S. Matthew xiii. 16, 17, in the passage following the parable of the sower, where Christ explains His reason for speaking in parables. S. Matthew closes his group of sayings with the words, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour,' etc.

If the two passages, S. Matthew xi. 20-29 and S. Luke x. 12-15, 21-24, be examined carefully, the most obvious conclusion to be drawn is that both are composite, and may therefore have been compiled by the evangelists from a collection of disjointed sayings. On the other hand, it is clear that the connection of the three sayings :—

I. Woe to Bethsaida ;

II. Things revealed to babes ;

III. No man knoweth who the Son is

must be older than either of our evangelists, and is a proof of community of source.

If, however, the conjecture be correct that the first of these sayings was derived by S. Luke from a peculiar source, it seems necessarily to carry the other two with it, so that we should be obliged to attribute them also to S. Luke's peculiar source ; in which case S. Matthew must in turn have derived them from a source peculiar to himself.

If, therefore, we attribute these three sayings, as we are bound to do, to an ultimate common source, Q, but hold that S. Luke derived them not directly from Q but from an intermediate document, it will follow that in this case, at any rate, the relation of S. Luke to Q is indirect. Thus :—



So far, however, the relation of S. Matthew to Q is undetermined, and must not at present be definitely regarded as direct or indirect.

In the next place, we must examine the passage dealing with perseverance in prayer, S. Luke xi. 9-13 (S. Matthew vii. 7-11). The verbal agreement between the two Gospels is here very close, but the context, in which the passage occurs, quite different. In S. Luke it forms part of a passage dealing with prayer.

- I. The disciples request to be taught to pray (S. Luke xi. 1).
- II. The Lord's prayer (S. Luke xi. 2-4).
- III. Parable of the friend at midnight (S. Luke xi. 5-8).
- IV. Perseverance in prayer (S. Luke xi. 9-13).

To the first and third of these sections S. Matthew has no parallels; to the second a partial parallel, for he gives the Lord's prayer in a fuller and considerably variant form in the Sermon on the Mount, in which also he places the passage on perseverance in prayer. There, however, the two passages are separated by thirty-four verses dealing with other subjects.

From a comparison of S. Matthew and S. Luke it does not seem probable, therefore, that the Lord's prayer and the passage on perseverance in prayer were drawn from a common source, in which they stood in close proximity.

Thus it appears that none of the matter in S. Luke xi. 1-13 occurs in S. Matthew in the same context. The relationship between the two Gospels at this point is of three different kinds.

- I. Agreement in wording but not in context (perseverance in prayer), which suggests the use of a common source, but not necessarily the direct use by both evangelists.

II. Partial agreement in wording, with complete independence of context (the Lord's prayer), which may imply indirect use of a common source, but does not necessarily do so in this case, as verbal agreement in some phrases of the Lord's prayer might easily be accounted for by early liturgical use.

III. Complete independence, since S. Matthew has no parallel to the disciples' request or to the parable of the friend at midnight.

It seems that these phenomena may be reasonably explained as follows :—S. Luke was using a source akin to, but not identical with, S. Matthew's source, and at least one other source, whose literary connection with S. Matthew's second source was remote and indirect, if, indeed, it had any literary connection at all.

It is, of course, not impossible that S. Luke may have found the whole discourse already compiled as it stands in his Gospel in one of his sources ; but that is only another way of saying he did not derive it directly from S. Matthew's source. It is hard to believe that S. Luke invented the disciples' request to be taught to pray merely to give a suitable occasion for inserting the Lord's prayer ; if he did so, he was no serious historian, but an irresponsible romancer. Nor is there any need to make this gratuitous assumption, since the form of the prayer differs sufficiently in S. Luke to allow of its being in part drawn from a different source. It is possible, but hardly probable, that S. Luke may have found the Lord's prayer in two of his sources, one akin to S. Matthew's, and another which contained also much matter not found in S. Matthew.

If we allow, as allow we must, that S. Luke had other sources besides S. Mark and Q, it is always possible, often probable, that wherever we find him giving matter similar

to that found in S. Matthew and S. Mark, but in a different context and a variant form, he was wholly or in part drawing from one of his other sources. That the contents of S. Mark and Q were not wholly distinct is clear from the case of certain doublets, in which S. Matthew and S. Luke preserve certain sayings both in the Marcan and in a non-Marcan form ; it is also clear from the case of the parable of the mustard seed, in which S. Matthew seems to have preserved traits both of the Marcan and Lucan form of the parable.

Now if S. Mark and Q overlap in places, there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that one of S. Luke's other sources may have overlapped one or both of them.

For these reasons, then, it seems very doubtful whether S. Matthew and S. Luke did derive all their common non-Marcan matter direct from one written source, *i.e.* it is doubtful whether Q is in reality the kind of document that many eminent critics suppose.

That all the matter given in Table III., and much of that contained in Table IV., was ultimately derived from a written Greek source is indeed highly probable, but that this document was the source of S. Matthew and S. Luke is, for many reasons given above, less probable than that it was the source of one or more of their sources. The difficulties which arise from the fact that the same sayings and incidents may have been present in more than one of the documents used by our evangelists, and that both of them may have from time to time conflated the accounts they found in two of the authorities they were using, render the task of reconstructing the ultimate Q, the source of the immediate sources of portions of the first and third Gospels, almost hopeless. We may, indeed, say with confidence that it must have contained such passages as the similitude of

the mote and the beam, the woe on Chorazin, the injunction to persevere in prayer, the parable of the leaven ; but the extent and arrangement of its contents cannot, for lack of convincing evidence, now be decided.

In the face of S. Luke's testimony to the many attempts that had been made to tell the Gospel story, it is not uncritical or gratuitous to assume the existence of a fairly extensive pre-Canonical Gospel literature, which, except in so far as it is preserved piecemeal in the Canonical Gospels, has perished irretrievably. In this chapter we have confined our efforts to considering the kindred matter found in S. Matthew and S. Luke from the point of view of the hypothesis which regards it as drawn direct from one document used by both evangelists. Such a source, we have seen, cannot be satisfactorily reconstructed. In Chapters VIII. and IX. we shall have to consider whether it is possible to reconstruct any of the sources probably used by S. Matthew and S. Luke separately.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMPOSITION OF S. MARK'S GOSPEL

IN considering the composition of S. Mark's Gospel it will be best first to attempt an answer to the question, Did S. Mark know and use Q? The inquiry is beset with peculiar difficulty, owing to our uncertainty regarding the nature and extent of Q. Two tests may, however, be applied: (a) by examining certain passages in which S. Matthew and S. Luke are obviously not wholly dependent upon S. Mark, although their narrative is to some extent parallel to his. In such passages, if S. Mark used Q, it is possible that traces of dependency will be discernible in his Gospel (b) by examining passages of which doublets occur in S. Matthew and S. Luke, one apparently derived from S. Mark, the other from another source.

Of the former class there are four cases worth consideration.

- I. The teaching of the Baptist (S. Mark i. 7, 8).
- II. The temptation of Jesus (S. Mark i. 12, 13).
- III. The reply of Christ to the charge that He cast out demons through diabolical agency (S. Mark iii. 22-30).
- IV. The parables of the mustard seed (and the leaven) (S. Mark iv. 30-32).

Now in every one of these cases, in order to establish S. Mark's indebtedness to Q, it is necessary to show that this hypothesis gives a better explanation of the facts than

the alternative one, that S. Matthew and S. Luke were combining or conflating matter drawn from two different sources.

I. S. MARK I. 7, 8.

There cometh he that is stronger than I after me, of whom I am not worthy stooping down to loose the latchet of his shoes. I baptized you with water, but (δέ) he will baptize you with a holy spirit.

S. MATTHEW III. 11.

I indeed (μέν) am baptizing you in water unto repentance, but (δέ) he that cometh after me is stronger than I, of whom I am not worthy to carry the shoes, you he will baptize in a holy spirit and fire.

S. LUKE III. 16.

I indeed (μέν) am baptizing you with water, but (δέ) there comes he that is stronger than I, of whom I am not worthy to loose the latchet of his shoes, you he will baptize in a holy spirit and fire.

The phenomena here are complicated ; both S. Matthew and S. Luke exhibit agreements with S. Mark against the other ; they also exhibit agreements with each other against S. Mark to an unusual extent, considering how short the passage is. These agreements are : (1) the order of the clauses ; (2) the insertion of ' indeed ' (μέν) ; (3) the use of the present ' I am baptizing ' ; (4) the omission of ' but ' (δέ) in the last clause ; (5) the insertion of ' in ' before ' holy spirit ' ; (6) the addition of ' and fire ' ; (7) the placing of ' you ' before ' will baptize.'

The next sentence in S. Matthew and S. Luke has no parallel in S. Mark, and the form of it, ' Whose fan is in His hand,' etc., clearly implies that something closely resembling S. Matthew iii. 11 and S. Luke iii. 16 must have stood in their non-Marcian source. From these facts some infer that S. Mark also was here dependent on the second source of S. Matthew and S. Luke, *i.e.* that he used Q.

This is certainly a possible explanation of the facts ; it is not, however, the only possible one. It is equally possible that both S. Matthew and S. Luke are conflating two similar sayings, one derived from S. Mark and the other from Q.

The strongest evidence in favour of this view is the false antithesis produced both in S. Matthew and S. Luke by the place given to 'but' (δέ). Both begin 'I indeed (μὲν) baptize you with water,' to which the true antithesis is, '*but* He will baptize you with fire'; whereas S. Matthew has '*but* He who cometh after Me,' and S. Luke, '*but* there cometh He who is stronger,' etc.

We would suggest that the original reading of Q was 'I indeed baptize you with [or 'in'] water, but He who cometh will baptize you in fire ; whose fan is in His hand,' etc.

This seems to give the true antithesis, and if the passages in S. Matthew and S. Luke are conflations of some such words from Q with the words of S. Mark, all their agreements against S. Mark are explained. In our conjectural reconstruction of Q we have assumed that S. Matthew's 'He that cometh' (ὁ ἐρχόμενος), in a Messianic sense, is the original reading. This is strongly supported by the fact that in the non-Marcan passage, in which the Baptist is recorded to have sent messengers to Jesus to ask Him who He was, both S. Matthew and S. Luke say that John instructed his messengers to ask, 'Art Thou He that cometh ?' (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) (S. Matthew xi. 2 ; S. Luke vii. 19). Now since the account of S. John's message to Jesus is probably drawn from the same source as the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke in their accounts of the Baptist's teaching (other than details derived from S. Mark), the evidence that S. Matthew's use of 'He that cometh' in

iii. 11 is derived from this source is almost overwhelming. What has been said does not, of course, amount to demonstration that S. Mark did not use Q, but it does show that the agreements of S. Matthew iii. 11 and S. Luke iii. 16 against S. Mark i. 7, 8 are at least as probably explained on another hypothesis, viz. that at this point S. Matthew and S. Luke were in different ways conflating their two sources, S. Mark and Q; while this theory accounts for the peculiarities of S. Mark far better than the other does.

II. The temptation of Jesus (S. Mark i. 12, 13). It is urged by some that here S. Mark is merely epitomising Q, as represented by S. Matthew and S. Luke. For instance, the Rev. B. H. Streeter, in the *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (p. 168), writes: 'An original tradition is always detailed and picturesque, and would hardly record, as does Mark, a temptation to do nothing in particular.' The first half of this statement is true enough, and numerous instances can be found in the Gospels in which the detailed and picturesque narrative of S. Mark is more original than the conciser parallel passage in S. Luke or S. Matthew; the question, however, is whether the statement is relevant here. To establish the derivation of the shorter account from the longer it is necessary to show that its details are all found in the longer, and that it adds no new ones of its own; for whenever the shorter account contains independent details it is always just as probable that the longer one is conflate as that the shorter is a mere epitome. So far are we from holding S. Mark's account of the temptation to be derived from Q's that we hold it to be not only independent, but to give a version of the incident not easily reconcilable with Q's account.

S. Mark's account is as follows:—'And immediately the spirit casts Him out into the wilderness. And He was in

the wilderness forty days, being tempted by Satan ; and He was with the wild beasts ; and the angels were ministering to Him.'

Here the detail, ' He was with the wild beasts,' is clearly original, and not derived from Q, while the mention of the ministering angels is almost certainly derived by S. Matthew from S. Mark, for in S. Matthew it comes in somewhat awkwardly. Now if we dismiss from our minds for a minute the accounts of S. Matthew and S. Luke, and try to picture Christ's temptation from the narrative of S. Mark alone, what is the result ? To my mind, at any rate, it is a picture of our Saviour undergoing a prolonged spiritual struggle of forty days' duration in the wilderness, with wild beasts for His only earthly companions, but ministered to throughout by angels. I think, also, that S. Mark meant to imply that our Lord was miraculously fed by the angels, so that for Him no question of a forty days' fast was present ; but whether this be so or not, the contrast between the company of the wild beasts and the ministry of the angels is both picturesque and original.

If we now turn our minds to the picture presented by S. Matthew and S. Luke we find it to be as follows :—after a fast of forty days' duration Jesus is subjected to three definite temptations ; in S. Luke no mention of the ministering angels is made at all, in S. Matthew their ministry only begins after the devil has left Jesus at the conclusion of the forty days.

The conclusion we reach, then, is that the Marcan account is original and independent, while such resemblances as exist between it and that of S. Matthew and S. Luke are due to the fact that their narratives are conflations of the account found in Q with that of S. Mark. As to Mr. Streeter's second objection, that ' an original

tradition . . . would hardly record . . . a temptation to do nothing in particular,' I can only say that S. Mark seems to me to be attributing to Jesus a spiritual struggle, through which millions of Christians must have passed, the struggle with the powers of evil felt as ever present and almost overwhelming, even when not assailing the will with particularised temptation 'to do' wrong. The objection, then, seems to rest on a failure to appreciate S. Mark's majestic simplicity and austere self-restraint.

III. The reply of Christ to the charge that He cast out demons by diabolical agency (S. Mark iii. 22-30). The parallels in S. Matthew and S. Luke have been fully discussed in Chapter VI. (see pp. 109-111), so the matter need only be treated briefly here. That S. Matthew and S. Luke drew largely from a non-Markan source here is beyond dispute; but this does not prove that S. Mark also was dependent on this source.

S. Mark's narrative may be divided into four sections.

1. The charge (v. 22).
2. 'If Satan cast out Satan,' etc. (vv. 23-26).
3. 'The strong man' (v. 27).
4. Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (vv. 28-30).

1. Here S. Mark alone records the definite charge that Jesus Himself was possessed. 'He hath Beelzebub' (cf. v. 21, 'They said, He is beside Himself').
2. The accounts of S. Matthew and S. Luke agree fairly closely, and both differ widely from that of S. Mark, adding a saying not recorded by him, 'If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?' etc. As far as the accounts are parallel, S. Mark has forty-four words, S. Matthew thirty-two, S. Luke twenty-four. S. Mark's narra-

tive here, then, is *not* an epitome or condensation of Q's.

Further, S. Mark has one important point not reproduced in S. Matthew or S. Luke: 'He (*i.e.* Satan) hath end,' which has every look of originality.

3. In the saying about the strong man S. Matthew and S. Mark agree very closely, while S. Luke has a wholly different version of the saying. If we assume S. Mark's dependence on Q, we have also to assume that S. Luke derived his version from another source. It seems far more probable that S. Luke preserves the form of the saying found in Q, and S. Matthew follows S. Mark.

True, the word 'then' (τότε), which is rare in S. Mark, occurs in this saying. This may show that S. Mark derived this saying from some written collection, as possibly he did some other sayings he records, but, as we shall see later in the chapter, this collection was almost certainly not Q.

4. As S. Luke lacks the passage in this context, we have no proof that it stood here in Q at all. The fact that S. Mark's version is harder than S. Matthew's is strongly in favour of its originality.

Regarding this portion of S. Mark as a whole, it may be said that the evidence strongly supports its independence of Q, and that its resemblances with S. Matthew are readily explained on the view that here, as elsewhere, the first evangelist was conflating S. Mark and Q.

iv. The parables of the mustard seed (and the leaven) (S. Mark iv. 30-32). It has already been suggested (p. 69) that S. Matthew's version is most probably a conflation of S. Mark's and Q's (the latter being more accurately

preserved in S. Luke). Another objection to the originality of S. Mark has been urged by Mr. Streeter (*Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 172), based on the fact that both S. Matthew and S. Luke append the parable of the leaven, not recorded by S. Mark, to that of the mustard seed. We will give this objection in his own words: 'What is more important is the fact that in both Matthew and Luke the parable of the leaven is appended. Pairs of parables emphasising different aspects of the same idea are a marked characteristic of our Lord's teaching in all our sources. . . . Mark's single parable here is therefore a mutilation of an original pair in Q.' Now, even if we grant the truth of the statement here made, that 'pairs of parables . . . are a marked characteristic . . . in all our sources,' the conclusion drawn by Mr. Streeter does not follow. The parable of the mustard seed *does not appear as a single parable* in S. Mark; it appears as the second of a pair emphasising the same idea, the first of the pair being the parable of the seed growing secretly. If, then, it be allowed, as we shall see later it probably should be, that S. Mark derived the parable of the mustard seed from a written collection of Christ's sayings, Mr. Streeter's own canon, to which he attaches so much importance, viz. 'that pairs of parables emphasising different aspects of the same idea are a marked characteristic of our Lord's teaching in all our sources,' compels us to conclude that S. Mark derived the parables of the seed growing secretly and of the mustard seed as a pair from one and the same source.

Now since S. Matthew and S. Mark both lack the parable of the seed growing secretly, and both combine that of the mustard seed with that of the leaven (a parable not recorded by S. Mark), the evidence seems very strongly to indicate that, wherever S. Mark may have derived his version of

the mustard seed from, it was not from Q, *i.e.* not from the second source used by S. Matthew and S. Luke.

In all the four passages in S. Mark in which there seems *a priori* to be the greatest probability of finding traces of the use of Q by him, it has been shown that the facts are far better explained by the hypothesis that S. Matthew conflated his sources, and the originality of S. Mark is vindicated. In the next place, one or two instances of doublets may be examined.

I. S. Mark iv. 25. 'For who has, it shall be given to him : and who has not, even what he has shall be taken away from him.' S. Matthew and S. Luke both preserve this saying practically in the same form in much the same context (*i.e.* in the same discourse). They both also have a doublet elsewhere (in the parables of the talents and the pounds respectively) : 'To every one who hath, it shall be given : from him who hath not, even what he hath shall be taken away.' Here, since the second form preserved in S. Matthew and S. Luke is neater, it is clear that S. Mark's saying is not likely to be derived from it.

II. S. Mark x. 11, 12. 'Whoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if she, having put away her husband, marry another, she commits adultery.' S. Luke xvi. 18 has : 'Every one putting away his wife, and marrying another, commits adultery : and he who marries her who is put away commits adultery.'

In the same context as S. Mark, S. Matthew xix. 9 has : 'Whosoever shall put away his wife . . . and marry another, commits adultery.' This is clearly akin to S. Mark. In v. 32 he has a doublet : 'Every one putting away his wife . . . makes her to commit adultery,' which is closer to S. Luke.

Here it is noticeable that S. Mark gives a case not touched on by the other evangelists, that of the woman who puts away her husband. Whatever the origin of this part of the saying may be, it is certainly unlikely to have been derived from Q; while S. Mark's 'committeth adultery against her' does not look as if it was derived from the simpler 'committeth adultery' of S. Matthew and S. Luke.

The application, then, of both the tests we proposed shows that there is no ground to suppose that S. Mark used Q, if by Q we mean the source from which S. Matthew and S. Luke drew their common non-Marcan matter.

It is, however, possible that some of the sayings and parables recorded by S. Mark may have been drawn by him from a written source, and this is a point which will require very careful and detailed consideration. This inquiry, also, is one beset with no little difficulty, and the results can only be probabilities. The following criteria may be employed:—

I. The traces in the longer discourses of any artificial or literary arrangement.

II. The repetition of any formula introducing sayings.

III. The occurrence of detached sayings for which the occasion is not definitely stated.

The last criterion is the least convincing of the three, for S. Mark might have had stored in his memory sayings the occasion of which he had forgotten or had never known.

The passage which lends most colour to the theory that he employed some earlier collection of Christ's sayings is the sermon by the sea (iv. 3-32). In this the arrangement is undoubtedly artificial, as will be seen from the following analysis of its contents:—

The parable of the sower (vv. 3-9).

Christ's reasons for speaking in parables (vv. 10-12).

Explanation of the parable of the sower (vv. 13-20).

A series of short sayings (vv. 21-25).

Parable of the seed growing secretly (vv. 26-29).

Parable of the mustard seed (vv. 30-32).

The discourse is introduced with the statement (vv. 2 and 3) that 'all the multitude were by the sea, and He taught them many things in parables,' and concludes with the statement (vv. 33 and 34) that 'with many such parables spake He the word unto them, as they were able to hear it. And without a parable spake He not unto them: but privately to His own disciples He expounded all things.'

This last statement is of twofold importance: first, because it shows that S. Mark regarded the whole of our Lord's public teaching to the multitudes as consisting of parables; secondly, because it shows that all the parables contained in the discourse we are considering are represented by him as addressed to the multitude. In this case the discourse itself will consist of the three parables, the explanation of the parable of the sower and the series of short sayings being spoken subsequently to the disciples, and inserted here immediately after the parable of the sower out of their proper chronological order.

It is, therefore, a possible explanation of the facts that S. Mark derived the two latter parables from some written source, and inserted them at this point in his Gospel, because he had no knowledge of the occasion on which they were actually spoken, and they seemed to illustrate other aspects of the theme with which the parable of the sower dealt. Each of them is simply introduced by the words 'and He said' (*καὶ ἐλεγεν*), which may possibly indicate that they were derived from a collection of the sayings of Jesus. The same words introduce the saying, 'Who hath ears to hear, let him hear,' which comes at the conclusion of the parable

of the sower (v. 9). A similar expression, 'And He said to them,' occurs thrice in the words addressed to the disciples privately, viz. in verses 11, 21, 24. In other parts of the Gospel both these expressions are used, in most cases introducing a saying of Christ's which might well be a citation from a written collection of the Lord's sayings since, when the saying so introduced is removed, the passage in which it occurs usually presents a complete sense without it.

At first sight it may appear somewhat strange to suggest that the occurrence of such an obvious expression as 'and He said' can possibly be an indication of the use of a source. An examination of a few statistics will, however, put the matter in rather a different light.

S. Mark uses five different words to express the idea conveyed in English by 'He said.' Two of these, *ἔφη* and *ἐλάλει*, occur very rarely in the Gospel, so that we may confine our attention to the other three, *ἔλεγεν*, *λέγει*, *εἶπεν*.

I. *ἔλεγεν*. This word occurs thirty times: in twenty-four instances it introduces sayings of Jesus, and in six those of other speakers. In twenty-one of the cases where it stands before a saying of Jesus it is preceded by the conjunction 'and' (*καί*); and in the majority of these it serves to introduce a saying which can easily be detached from the context, and might well have been derived from a collection of sayings. Only in very few cases is this word employed by S. Mark in a purely narrative passage.

II. *λέγει*. This word occurs sixty-three times in the Gospel: in forty-nine instances it introduces words of Jesus; in fourteen those of other speakers. It is used almost invariably in narrative passages, and it introduces only one saying that could easily be detached from the

context (ix. 35) : ' If any one wishes to be first, he shall be last of all, and servant of all.'

III. εἰπεν. This word occurs forty-nine times : in thirty-three instances it introduces sayings of Jesus, and in sixteen those of other speakers. It is used almost invariably in narrative passages, and introduces only two sayings which can easily be detached from their context.

viii. 34-37. ' If any one wishes to come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me,' etc.

ix. 36. ' Whoever shall receive one of such little children in My name, receiveth Me : and whoever receiveth Me, receiveth not Me, but Him that sent Me.'

With these statistics before us we see that there is a two-fold fact which needs explaining : Why is it that S. Mark so often uses the same word to introduce a saying which can easily be detached from the context ? and why does he so rarely use this word in other cases ? Again, we have to explain why it is that he so rarely employs either of the words which he most commonly uses in narrative to introduce sayings which are easily detachable from the context.

The suggestion that he uses the word ' He said ' (ἐλεγεν) when he is consciously quoting from a source will give an intelligible explanation of the facts. It is true that he does occasionally use this word for other purposes ; and it is true that he does occasionally introduce a saying easily detachable from its context by another word (λέγει or εἰπεν), but these exceptions are not frequent enough in their occurrence to destroy the probability of the suggestion we have made.

On the other hand, the fact that the particular expression we are discussing occurs seven times in the discourse

in Chapter iv., which is almost certainly composite, and therefore likely to contain sayings derived from a source, is strong evidence in favour of the suggestion. We must now examine the passages, other than those contained in Chapter iv., which are introduced by these words.

(I.) ii. 27. 'And He said to them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: so that the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.' These words immediately follow Christ's answer to the Pharisees, who had called His attention to the fact that His disciples were plucking corn on the Sabbath; they give a definite application to that answer, but the passage would not be lacking in power without them.

(II.) vi. 4. 'And Jesus said to them' (the order in the Greek is, 'And said to them Jesus') 'that, A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and among his own kinsfolk, and in his own house.'

If this verse be omitted, the connection between verses 3 and 5 is not disturbed, and the narrative will read: 'And they were offended at Him. And He could there do no mighty work,' etc.

(III.) vi. 10. 'And He said to them, Wherever ye enter into a house, there remain until ye go out thence: and whatever place shall not receive you, and they shall not hear you, as ye are setting out thence shake off the dust that is under your feet for a witness to them.' These words follow Christ's injunction to the disciples to make no preparation for their journey when they go forth to preach. Now S. Matthew and S. Luke both have the same two sayings (at any rate, in substance) in close juxtaposition, but neither of them preserves S. Mark's 'and He said to them.' Their presence, then, in S. Mark must be either a trick of style or an indication of the use of a source.

If it were the former we should expect to find it more often than we do, and many points may be found in the Gospel at which it would come in at least as appropriately as here (*e.g.* ii. 21 and 22 ; ix. 50 ; x. 25 ; x. 44 ; xiii. 9, 28, 33). This, again, is not proof, but the presence of the expression in some places, and its absence from others, in which it would have been equally appropriate, raises a certain presumption in favour of its being an indication of the use of a source rather than a mere idiosyncrasy of the author.

(iv.) vii. 9. 'And He said to them, Well do ye set at naught the commandment of God in order that ye may keep your tradition.' These words are closely akin to the preceding verse : 'Setting aside the commandment of God, ye keep the tradition of men.' Indeed, the one is hardly more than a paraphrase of the other. The words which follow in verse 10, 'For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother,' etc., will connect equally well with either saying. Here the supposition that the words we are discussing were derived by S. Mark from some written source seems to offer the best explanation of their presence.

(v.) vii. 27. 'And He said to her, Suffer the children first to be fed, for it is not fitting to take the children's bread and to cast it to the little dogs.' This saying cannot as a whole be detached from its context as some of the others can ; for the Syrophoenician woman's reply, 'Yea, Lord : even the little dogs under the table eat the children's crumbs,' seem to require that Christ's saying should precede it. On the other hand, the opening portion of the saying, 'Suffer the children first to be fed,' can be removed, and, as a matter of fact, is lacking in S. Matthew. The account of the whole incident in the first Gospel presents so many variations from that given by S. Mark that it is quite pos-

sible that S. Matthew may have been acquainted with another version of it, and in omitting the words 'Suffer the children first to be fed' may be following another source. It is noticeable that while these words are introduced with the formula 'καὶ ἔλεγεν,' Christ's final reply to the woman (v. 29) is not, but is prefaced by other words meaning the same (καὶ εἶπεν). The whole incident is unrecorded in S. Luke.

(vi.) viii. 21. 'And He said to them, Are ye yet without understanding?' These words so fittingly conclude the conversation with the disciples about the leaven of the Pharisees and Herod that there seems little probability of their being derived from a source. It is to be noticed, however, that there is some MS. authority for reading the present instead of the imperfect tense in this passage. It is not, of course, impossible that such a saying might have been preserved in a book of sayings, and have been introduced from it by S. Mark, but more than that cannot be said.

(vii.) ix. 1. 'And He said to them, Verily I say to you, That there are some of those standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God come in power.'

The phenomena here are practically the same as we noticed in No. iii.

This saying follows one (viii. 38) concerning the coming of the Son of Man, *i.e.* a saying on a kindred subject. S. Matthew and S. Luke reproduce both sayings in the same order, and both omit S. Mark's connecting 'and He said.'

Here again, then, we have the choice of regarding the expression as a trick of style or an indication of the use of a source,

(VIII.) xiv. 36. 'And He said, Abba, Father, all things are possible to Thee; let this cup pass from Me: but not what I will, but what Thou wilt.' This instance is very similar to No. iv., for the words which precede have contained much the same idea in rather different words: 'And He prayed that, if it is possible, the hour might pass away from Him.' A plausible explanation of this would be that S. Mark gave first the substance of Christ's prayer in his own words, and then the actual words spoken by Jesus, derived from another source.

In addition to these seven cases and the six in Chapter iv., in which the simple formula 'and He said,' or 'and He said to them,' occurs, there are seven others in which a rather more complex one is used.

(I.) iv. 2. 'And He said to them in His teaching, Hear; Behold, a sower went forth to sow.'

The parable of the sower, which follows, is longer than any of the passages we have considered so far, and the introductory words are preceded by the statement that 'He taught them many things in parables.' If it were not for the fact that in a number of other passages the words 'and He said to them' seemed to indicate the use of a source, we should hardly suspect them of doing so here. This, however, does not establish a negative conclusion; it only makes us suspend our judgment. Either the opening words or the whole sentence may indicate or even be derived from a source.

(II.) xii. 38. 'And in His teaching He said, Beware of the scribes, who wish to walk in long robes,' etc. This saying, like the parable of the sower, is somewhat longer than those previously considered, extending, as it does, over three verses. The connection in which it occurs must be carefully noted.

Verses 28-34 are narrative, and record the conversation of Jesus with the scribe who was not 'far from the kingdom of heaven.'

Verses 35-37 again contain a reference to scribes: 'How say the scribes that Christ is David's son?'—a passage which we shall have to consider later. And then the one we are examining, introduced by the statement that 'the crowd (ὁ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος) heard Him gladly.'

The connecting link between these three passages is that they all have reference to scribes; and the two latter are sayings that might easily have been culled from a book of sayings, for neither of them is closely linked with any incident.

(III.) xii. 35 introduces the saying to which allusion has been made in the previous section: 'How say the scribes that Christ is David's son?' The sentence which prefaces the saying differs somewhat from the two cases we have just been considering; it runs: 'And Jesus having answered said, teaching in the Temple.' A somewhat similar formulae is used in the two cases which will have to be examined next. The relation of this passage to the parallels in S. Matthew and S. Luke is interesting. In S. Matthew the three paragraphs (viz. the conversation with the scribe, the question about Christ being David's son, and the warning against the scribes) are found together in the same order as in S. Mark, but with considerable verbal variations. In S. Luke the first is omitted, and the other two occur in the same order with some variations in wording, in a few of which S. Luke agrees with S. Matthew against S. Mark, viz. in verse 37. This runs: 'David himself says He is Lord (λέγει αὐτὸν Κύριον); and whence is He his son?'

S. Matthew and S. Luke both insert 'therefore,' have 'calls' (καλεῖ) for 'says,' and 'how' for 'whence.' It

seems not unlikely, then, that they may have had some other source besides S. Mark for the saying.

If, then, the order of the whole passage is literary rather than historical, it is possible that the arrangement may be older than S. Mark, and may have been derived by him from a written source.

(iv.) ix. 31. 'For He taught His disciples, and said to them that, The Son of man is betrayed into the hands of men, and they shall slay Him; and having been slain, He shall rise again after three days.' With this passage, which is the second of the predictions of the passion recorded by S. Mark, the other two must be compared, viz. viii. 31 and x. 32, in both of which a somewhat similar expression is used to introduce the saying. In the former case it is, 'He began to teach them' (ἤρξατο διδάσκειν); in the latter, 'He began to say' (ἤρξατο λέγειν). In both these cases it is difficult to remove the sayings from the context, since they are more closely woven into the narrative than most of the sayings we have previously considered; moreover, the expression 'He began to' is a common one in S. Mark. The three predictions are all differently worded, and are not mere repetitions of the same saying; but it is worthy of note that while in the first and third Jesus speaks definitely of being betrayed to the 'chief priests and scribes,' in the second, which we are now considering, He speaks vaguely of being betrayed 'into the hands of men.' Thus the prediction, in which the introductory words are most suggestive of the use of a source, differs in an important respect from the other two, and can also be more easily detached from the context than they.

This saying and that contained in ix. 1 have a special importance, for they both occur in the same context in

S. Matthew and S. Luke as they do in S. Mark, which renders it highly probable that they occurred in the earliest form of S. Mark and are not later additions. If it were the case that all the sayings which look like citations from a source were peculiar to S. Mark, there would be good grounds to suppose that they were later additions to it; but the fact that some are found in the same contexts in S. Matthew and S. Luke renders it more likely that not these sayings only but the whole class to which they belong are part of the second Gospel as known to S. Matthew and S. Luke. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that in one case S. Luke preserves the Marcan formula 'and He said' (καὶ ἔλεγεν), viz. before the saying, 'The Son of man is Lord of the sabbath' (vi. 5. Cf. S. Mark ii. 27, 28).

It should be noted also that even if the sayings found in S. Mark, but not in S. Matthew and S. Luke, were proved to be later additions, they would still be evidence of the use of some collection of Christ's sayings at an early date by an editor of the second Gospel, if not by S. Mark himself; and it is for traces of the existence of such a collection that we are now searching.

(v.) xi. 17. 'And He taught them and said, Is it not written that, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations? but ye have made it a den of robbers.'

These words can be removed from the passage in which they occur without spoiling the sense, so that they may be an instance of the use of a collection of sayings.

(vi.) iii. 23. 'And addressing them in parables, He said, How can Satan cast out Satan?' etc. Since this saying occurs in S. Matthew and S. Luke in a different form but in a similar connection (viz. as Christ's reply to the charge that He cast out devils through Beelzebub), and

is in each case followed by a saying about the strong man, the point raised in connection with xii. 35, that the order is older than S. Mark, and may have been derived by him from a written source, occurs again. Further, the whole passage in which the saying occurs has been often suspected of having a composite origin, on the ground that verse 31 follows very appropriately after either verse 21 or verse 22, if verses 23-30 are omitted.

20. 'And the multitude comes together again, so that they were not able even to eat bread.
21. 'And his relatives (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) went out to find Him : for they said, He is beside Himself.
- [22. 'But the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said that, He hath Beelzebub, and that in the prince of the demons He casts out the demons.]
31. 'And His mother and His brethren come, and, standing outside, sent to Him, calling Him.
32. 'And a multitude sat around Him, and they say to Him, Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren without seek Thee.
33. 'And answering them He says, Who is My mother and My brethren ?
34. 'And looking round on those who sat in a circle around Him He says, Behold My mother and My brethren.
35. 'Whoever shall do the will of God, he is My brother and sister and mother.'

(In verse 21 the word we have translated 'relatives,' and which in the R.V. is rendered 'friends,' is in the Sinaitic Syriac translated 'brothers.') The connection here is excellent, for the fact recorded in verse 21 explains the apparent harshness of verse 33.

It seems possible, then, that this is how the narrative may have been told by S. Peter, and that the sayings contained in verses 23-30 may have been inserted by S. Mark from some other source; the charge of the scribes, that Jesus cast out devils by diabolical agency, affording a suitable point at which to insert the saying, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' But the question we are considering now is, whether there are traces of the use of a written source for any of the sayings of Christ recorded in S. Mark: more especially whether the words which introduce the saying, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' is such a trace.

It will be noticed that above we have enclosed verse 22 in brackets, because it is doubtful whether (on the assumption that the passage is composite) this verse belongs to the Petrine narrative, as it may be called, or to the group of inserted sayings.

In either case we are met by a difficulty: in the first instance, because the saying 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' seems too closely linked to the charge made against Jesus by the scribes that He was in league with the Evil One; in the second, because we should have to attribute a piece of narrative to the primitive collection of sayings such as we have seen some of the parables and sayings in S. Mark might have been drawn from.

It seems, then, that a clear case cannot be made out for the probability that in this passage S. Mark was employing a written source.

(vii.) vii. 14. 'And again addressing the multitude, He said to them, Hear Me all, and understand: there is nothing outside a man going into him which can defile him; but the things which come out of a man are the things which defile a man.'

The introductory words here are similar to those in iii. 23. The passage follows the discussion with the Pharisees about cleansing, and Christ's words about Pharisaic tradition; and is followed by an explanation privately to the disciples. This explanation, introduced as it is by the characteristically Marcan statement, 'When He was gone home (εἰς οἶκον) from the multitude,' is clearly an integral part of the narrative of the Gospel, so that the saying to which it is attached is probably so as well.

We may now summarise the results to which the examination of these passages leads us.

I. There are a number of 'sayings' which there is some reason to suppose are derived from another source than the main narrative of the Gospel, which are all introduced by the words, 'And He said,' or some rather longer introductory sentence containing these words.

II. There is most reason to suspect derivation from another source in the cases where the introductory words are most brief, *e.g.*, 'And He said,' 'And He said to them,' 'And He taught them, and said.'

III. The exact words, 'And He said' (καὶ ἔλεγεν), though used occasionally elsewhere in the Gospel, are chiefly used in introducing pregnant sayings of Jesus.

IV. They appear six times in Chapter iv., in a discourse which from its arrangement appears to be composite.

V. These facts are not inconsistent with the theory that many of them were drawn from a written source.

VI. On the other hand, the fact that several of the sayings introduced by expression in which the words 'and He said' occur, cannot be readily so accounted for, diminishes the force of the evidence in the other cases.

VII. The fact that the words, 'And He said,' are also

used to introduce the sayings of other speakers also weakens the case.

VIII. In most, if not in all cases, the facts would be equally well explained by the assumption that S. Mark was introducing sayings of Jesus which were familiar to him, but which he had not learned from the spoken teaching of S. Peter, if we may assume that this formed the basis of the bulk of his Gospel.

Having dealt at length with these passages in which there is most reason to suspect the presence of a formula of citation, we must now more briefly consider two fairly long groups of sayings (ix. 38-50 and xiii. 5-47) to see if they show traces of artificial arrangement such as might indicate the use of a written source.

I. ix. 38-50. The passage opens with S. John's words to our Lord, telling Him that they had seen a man casting out devils in His name, which calls forth from Him the saying, 'He that is not against us is on our side.' Then follow the sayings.

41. 'Whoever shall give you a cup of water in a name because ye are Christ's, verily I say to you that he shall in no wise lose his reward.'

42. 'Whoever shall cause to stumble one of these little ones who believe, etc.'

43-48. 'If thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off . . . where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.'

49-50. Three sayings about salt.

The passage as a whole might be described as a collection of miscellaneous sayings in which the conclusion has no close logical connection with the commencement. Yet on

nearer examination it will be observed that each member of the discourse is linked in thought to the one immediately preceding it ; thus the giving of a cup of water to a disciple might be regarded as a particular instance of being ' with them,' because ' not against ' ; and the doing such a service ' in a name because ye are Christ ' seems in thought connection with the incident of the stranger who cast out demons ' in Thy name.'

The saying in verse 42, ' Whoever shall cause one of these little ones who believe to stumble,' etc., is connected with verse 41 by way of contrast, the former verse showing the value of a small kindness done to Christ's disciples, the latter the guilt of an injury.

The 42nd verse is connected with what follows by the thought of ' causing to stumble.'

The saying in verse 49, ' Every one shall be salted with fire,' seems suggested by the concluding words of verse 48, ' Their fire is not quenched ' ; while the two sayings on salt in verse 50 follow naturally enough on verse 49.

The connecting links are not hard to discover, but the nature of the connection appears to be literary.

It is, of course, impossible to deny that these sayings might have been spoken by Christ on one occasion in the order in which S. Mark gives them, but the nature of the connection between one saying and another suggests strongly that they are being strung together by the writer of the book, who is grouping in one discourse a number of disjointed sayings.

When we compare this portion of S. Mark with the parallels in the other two synoptists, we find that S. Luke has the introductory verses only (38-40), though he has a saying akin to that preserved in verse 42 in another context, and also to the second saying about salt (v. 50), to which

S. Matthew also has a parallel in the Sermon on the Mount (v. 13).

This saying should be carefully compared, as it occurs in all three Gospels.

S. MARK IX. 50.	ST. MATTHEW V. 13	S. LUKE XIV. 34.
Salt is good,	Ye are the salt of	Salt is good,
	the earth,	
but if the salt becomes	but if the salt have	but if the salt have
saltless	lost its savour	lost its savour
(ἀναλον γένηται)	(μωρανθῇ)	(μωρανθῇ)
in what shall it be	in what will ye season	in what shall it be
salted	it	seasoned.
(ἀλισθήσεται).	(ἀρτύσετε).	(ἀρτυθήσεται).

In S. Matthew the words are followed by the saying, 'It is no more good for anything save to be cast out and trodden underfoot by men'; in S. Luke by, 'It is fit neither for the earth nor for the dunghill; they cast it out.' Sayings to which S. Mark has no parallel.

It would seem, then, that S. Luke's version of the saying is akin in some respects to S. Matthew's, in others to S. Mark, and that he probably knew it in two forms. This may indicate that, although S. Luke inserted it in another context, he found it where it stands in our S. Mark in the copy which he used.

S. Matthew has a close parallel to verses 42-47, which shows that he was here using S. Mark, especially as he has a doublet of two of the sayings in the Sermon on the Mount (vv. 29, 30). He omits the passage about the stranger who cast out demons in Christ's name, and the saying, 'Whoever shall give you a cup of water' (v. 41), though he has a parallel to it elsewhere (x. 42), also two of the sayings on salt.

If we assume, as we have seen we have every right to do, that S. Matthew knew and used S. Mark's Gospel practically

in the form in which we now have it, his procedure is easily explained. He seems to have interpreted the word 'little ones' in S. Mark ix. 42 ('Whoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe to stumble') to mean 'children'; by omitting verses 38-41 of S. Mark, he brought this saying into immediate proximity with the saying contained in verse 37: 'Whoever shall receive one of such little children in My name, receives Me.' After the warnings to cast off the offending member, he omits the quotation in S. Mark ix. 48, and the sayings on salt attached to it; and returns to the subject of 'little ones' with the saying, 'See that ye despise not one of these little ones.'

The phenomena presented by this discourse closely resemble those which we observed in the Sermon by the Sea (S. Mark iv.).

(i.) In both cases S. Mark's discourse appears to be composite.

(ii.) In both cases S. Matthew and S. Luke omit certain portions.

(iii.) In both cases S. Matthew inserts matter from some other source.

(iv.) In both cases S. Matthew has parallels to some of the omitted portions elsewhere.

(v.) In both cases one of the other Gospels contains doublets of some of the sayings contained in the discourses.

We would here offer a suggestion as to the interpretation of these facts. S. Matthew and S. Luke certainly possessed other sources for the sayings of Christ upon which they drew for this matter more largely than upon S. Mark: where they found the same or similar sayings occur in one context in S. Mark, and in another in their second source or sources, there was no reason why they should not diverge from S. Mark's order. They may have recognised, indeed,

that the combination of sayings in Chapters iv. and ix. were due to S. Mark himself, and may have preferred some other arrangement of their own. While it is true that nowhere do S. Matthew and S. Luke follow S. Mark more closely than in the incidental sayings which occur *in the narrative portions* of his Gospel (*i.e.* in what might perhaps be called dialogue passages), they treat the longer discourses given in the Second Gospel with considerable freedom. An adequate reason for this would be that they regarded these discourses as literary discourses compiled by the evangelist, not as verbatim reports of sayings actually spoken by Jesus upon the same occasion.

Reviewing the facts observed in our study of S. Mark ix. 38-50, we may say :—

(i.) That the discourse seems to be composite.

(ii.) That the manner in which it is composed, despite the absence of anything which can be called a quotation formula, seems rather to resemble that of a compilation from a written source than of one in which the writer was drawing on the stores of his own memory.

(iii.) That the absence of anything like a quotation formula renders this conclusion less weighty than is the case in Chapter iv.

II. S. Mark xiii. 5-37. The occasion of this discourse is the prediction of Jesus with regard to the Temple (xiii. 2), 'Ye see these great buildings, there shall not be left here a stone upon a stone which shall not be cast down,' with regard to which some of the Apostles ask, 'Tell us when these things shall be, and what is the sign when all these things are about to be accomplished?'

Christ responds to this request with the discourse which we are now considering. It has been observed that certain passages, which are sometimes called 'the little Apocalypse,'

can easily be detached from the rest of the discourse and make a consecutive whole. It will further be noticed that when this is done the remainder also makes a consecutive discourse: the first group of sayings having reference to the destruction of Jerusalem; the second, to the return of Christ. Yet again, while in the case of the second group S. Matthew and S. Luke have a few doublets in other parts of their Gospels (*e.g.* S. Matthew to vv. 9, 21, 33, and S. Luke to vv. 9-11, 21), in the case of the first there is but one doublet, and that is in S. Luke (to vv. 15, 16). Since the first group in reality gives the explanation requested by the disciples, it would seem as though this were the original discourse into which S. Mark has worked a number of eschatological sayings.

The composite nature of the discourse can be best made clear by printing each group of sayings separately.

1. *The Little Apocalypse* (S. Mark xiii. 7, 8, 14-20, 24-27, 30, 31):—

7. ' But when ye hear of wars and rumours of wars, be
8. not troubled; it must be, but the end is not yet.
For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom
against kingdom: there shall be earthquakes in
14. divers places, there shall be famines. But when ye
see the abomination of desolation standing where it
ought not (let him that readeth understand), then
let those that are in Judea flee unto the mountains;
15. let him that is on the housetop not come down, nor
16. enter to take anything out of his house; and let
him that is in the field not turn back to the things
17. that are behind to take his cloak. But woe to those
18. that are with child, or that give suck in those days;
19. but pray ye that it be not in the winter, for there

- shall be days of tribulation such as there have not been from the creation of the world, which God
20. created, until now—and shall not be. And if the Lord had not curtailed those days, no flesh should have been saved; but for the sake of the elect whom He has chosen, He has shortened the days.
24. But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun
25. shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall be falling out of the heaven, and the powers which are in the heavens shall be
26. shaken. And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in clouds, with great power and glory. And
27. then shall He send His angels, and gather His elect from the four winds, from the end of earth to the
30. end of heaven. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things have
31. come to pass. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away.'

Here it will be observed that verses 24-27 are eschatological in tone, and connect the coming of the Son of Man with the fall of Jerusalem, which makes it easy to understand why S. Mark should have woven much other eschatological matter into the discourse.

That the fall of Jerusalem is the main theme of this little apocalypse is rendered clear by S. Luke's interpretation of verse 14, for he writes, 'When ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies,' where S. Mark has, 'When ye see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not.'

II. *The Eschatological discourse proper* (S. Mark xiii. 5, 6, 9-13, 21-23, 28-29, 32-37).

5, 6. 'See that no one deceive you. Many shall come in My name, saying that 'I am,' and shall deceive many.

9. But see to yourselves ; they shall hand you over to councils, and ye shall be beaten in synagogues, and
10. ye shall stand before kings for My sake for a witness to them. And first it is necessary that the Gospel
11. be preached to all nations. And when they shall bring you, handing you over, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak, but whatever is given you in that hour, that speak, for it is not ye who
12. are speaking, but the Holy Ghost. And brother shall give up brother to death, and father child ; and children shall rise against parents, and shall
13. put them to death. And ye shall be hated by all men for My name's sake. But he that endureth to
21. the end shall be saved. And then if any one say to you, Behold, here is Christ, behold, there ; do not
22. believe ; for false Christs and false prophets shall
23. arise, and shall give signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if possible, the elect. But see ye, I have
28. told you all things before. But from the fig-tree learn the parable : when already her branch becomes tender and puts forth leaves, know that
29. summer is near ; So also ye, when ye see these things coming to pass, know that it is near, even at the
32. doors. But concerning that day and that hour no
33. one knows (not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son) except the Father. See, watch, for ye
34. know not when the time is. As a man going on a journey, having left his house, and having given to his slaves authority, to each one his work, and to
35. the porter he gave commandment that he should watch. Watch, therefore : for ye know not when the lord of the house comes, whether at evening, or in the middle of the night, or at cock crowing, or

36. in the morning : lest coming earlier he find you
 37. sleeping. But what I say to you I say to all—
 watch.

The purport of this group of sayings is plainly eschatological, and has no particular reference to the fall of Jerusalem. It is possible that S. Mark may have found it already existing as a complete discourse, but this is a point in which no decisive evidence is available. It does, however, seem highly probable that the whole discourse as it stands in S. Mark xiii. 5-37 is composite, and, as in the case of the discourse in Chapter ix., the balance of probabilities seems to favour the view that a written source may have been used.

Besides these longer passages, and those shorter sayings which seem to be introduced by a sort of quotation formula, there are a few short sayings which our third criterion might lead us to suspect as possibly derived from a written source, because no definite occasion is stated on which they were spoken. Such are :—

- I. The new cloth on the old garment (ii. 21).
- II. The new wine in old bottles (ii. 22).
- III. The saying about the strong man armed (iii. 27).
- IV. The warning against blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (iii. 28-30).
- V. When ye stand praying forgive, if ye have anything against any one, in order that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses (xi. 23).

With regard to each of these it might be urged that their connection with what immediately precedes them is of such a kind as to suggest the possibility that they may have been inserted from some other source to illustrate what has already been said ; *e.g.* the two similitudes in Chapter ii.

to illustrate what Jesus has said about fasting ; the saying in Chapter xi. to illustrate what He has said on prayer.

To sum up, we may say that by applying the three criteria mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, we have found just the kind of traces we should have expected to find if S. Mark did as a matter of fact weave some sayings derived from an already existing written source into his Gospel.

We have found at least three discourses which appear to be composite.

We have found a number of sayings introduced by the words, ' And He said ' (*καὶ ἔλεγεν*) in such a way as to suggest that the sayings so introduced may possibly be drawn from a collection of sayings.

We have found a few sayings given without any definite occasion being named for their utterance.

We therefore infer that there is a slight probability on the side of the view that S. Mark used some source for certain of the sayings of our Lord embodied in his Gospel, and in favour of that source being a written one. If such a source were used, it would seem to have consisted mainly of parables, similitudes, short detached sayings, and eschatological prediction. Some of the sayings possibly derived from such a source are peculiar to S. Mark, to others S. Matthew and S. Luke present doublets. There is no trace of its having contained either the Lord's Prayer or the Beatitudes, so that the evidence does not favour the view that the Marcan ' sayings source,' if we may so name this somewhat hypothetical document, was the same as, or even closely akin to, the source or sources from which the other synoptists derived the sayings recorded by them, but not by S. Mark.

There is nothing to show that all the sayings of Jesus in

S. Mark which there is some reason to regard as possibly derived from an earlier source are derived from one and the same source. Indeed, if there is any value in the argument that the use by S. Mark of the words 'and He said' (*καὶ ἔλεγεν*) points to the saying which follows being derived from a source, it seems likely that sayings not so introduced were not derived from the same source as these, though they may have been derived from another.

As to the arrangement of the Gospel as a whole, there is no evidence to show that the general order of events and the bulk of the narrative is not the evangelist's own. Tradition, as represented by the statement of Papias, makes the oral teaching of S. Peter S. Mark's main source of information, *i.e.* suggests that the bulk of his Gospel is an original rather than a composite work based on written authorities. The internal evidence supports this view, for the great mass of this Gospel consists of records of incidents at which S. Peter was present.

The portions of which this cannot be said are :—

- i. 1-16. The preaching of S. John the Baptist; the baptism of Jesus; the Temptation; and the return to Galilee.
- vi. 14-29. The death of S. John the Baptist.
- xvi. 1-8. The finding of the empty tomb.

To these should perhaps be added xv. 1-41, the account of the trial and crucifixion of Christ, for S. Mark's statement in xv. 40, 'But there were women also beholding afar off, among whom were Mary Magdalene,' etc., may be intended to imply that none of the disciples were present, and that for the record of the details of the crucifixion the ultimate authority was the report of these women.

Be that as it may, none of the matter which cannot have rested on the first-hand testimony of S. Peter is of such a

nature as to exclude the probability that S. Peter was S. Mark's immediate source of information.

It may next, then, be asked whether the arrangement of this Gospel is consistent with the traditional view of its origin.

The latter portion of it is manifestly arranged chronologically. This is shown by the allocation of the events of the close of our Saviour's life to separate days.

- I. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem (xi. 1-11).
- II. The cursing of the barren fig-tree and the cleansing of the Temple (xi. 12-19). Notice especially xi. 12 : ' On the morrow.'
- III. The withering of the fig-tree: discourses in the Temple, the eschatological discourse (xi. 20-xiii. 37). Notice especially xi. 20 : ' Early in the morning.'
- IV. The plot of the priests, and the anointing at Bethany (xiv. 1-11). Notice especially xiv. 1 : ' It was the feast of the passover and of unleavened bread after two days.'
- V. The last supper, the agony and arrest (xiv. 12-72). Notice especially xiv. 12 : ' And on the first day of unleavened bread.'
- VI. The trial and crucifixion of Jesus (xv. 1-41). Notice especially xv. 1 : ' Early in the morning.'

Now, whatever else may be said of S. Mark's arrangement of these events, it is at least clear that their chronological arrangement is deliberate and intentional.

In the earlier chapters no such definite and exact chronological data are found, but there are, nevertheless, indications that the general arrangement of the Gospel is intended to be chronological. In several cases considerable space

is devoted to the events of one day ; this may of course be due to artificial grouping of incidents on the part of the evangelist himself : it may equally well be due to the fact that certain eventful days had impressed themselves very deeply on S. Peter's memory, and that he loved to give accounts of these eventful days.

Instances of such days are found in S. Mark i. 21-34 ; iv. 1-v. 20 (which seem to give the events of two successive days) ; vi. 30-54 ; ix. 2-32. Indications of time are also to be found in the earlier part of the Gospel, *e.g.* ii. 1 : ' Entering again into Capernaum,' which indicates that this entry into Capernaum is subsequent to that recorded in i. 21 ; or ii. 13, ' He went out again by the sea ' (cf. i. 16, ' Going along by the sea ') ; or iv. 1, ' Again He began to teach by the sea ' (cf. ii. 13, ' He went out again by the sea, and all the multitude came to Him, and He taught them ') ; or ix. 2, ' After six days.' These indications, despite the fact that many incidents are not dated at all, and that in one or two cases similar incidents are grouped together (*e.g.* ii. 23-iii. 6, where we find two incidents connected with the keeping of the Sabbath placed side by side), show that throughout the Gospel the arrangement is roughly chronological.

Two objections are made to this view : (i.) that the order of S. Mark is different from that of S. John. This may be a good reason for discounting the accuracy of S. Mark's chronology, it is no evidence at all against the view that he intended to give events in the order in which they happened as well as he could.

(ii.) That the mention of the ' green grass ' (S. Mark vi. 39), in the account of the feeding of the 5000 implies that this event happened in the early spring, and that there is not time for all the events recorded by S. Mark

after this to have happened before the Passover : so that either S. Mark has not arranged his matter chronologically, or has omitted an account of a Passover which took place in the middle of Christ's Galileean ministry. This objection is only of weight if we assume that Jesus must have gone to Jerusalem to keep the Passover every year. S. Mark's narrative, I think, leaves no room for a visit to Jerusalem during the Galileean ministry, but does seem to imply that it spread over a longer period than one year. The implication is that soon after the feeding of the 5000 Jesus departed northwards to the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon ; if this tour were at all an extended one, it might well have precluded the possibility of His going to Jerusalem to keep the Passover.

The general scheme of S. Mark's Gospel, then, seems to be : (1) an account of a ministry in Galilee and the surrounding country during the course of which no visit to Jerusalem occurred ; (2) a journey to Jerusalem undertaken by Jesus with the full consciousness that its end would be a tragic one ; (3) the last days in Jerusalem, the death and resurrection of Jesus.

In all this there is nothing inconsistent with the tradition that this Gospel was based mainly on the reminiscences of S. Peter. If, as some think, S. Mark was himself the young man who was present at the arrest of Jesus and fled away naked (S. Mark xiv. 51, 52), he would then probably have had some first-hand knowledge of the events of the last days, and this would account for the greater fulness and the chronological exactness of the account of these days.

Be this as it may, the evidence as a whole seems to support the view that S. Mark's Gospel is, from a literary point of view, an original work, in which the writer has striven to

give events in the main in their chronological order, not a compilation from several written sources in which the order is decided by literary rather than historical considerations.

Even if, as is not unlikely, the evangelist used a written source for some of his discourse matter, this does not disprove the originality of the narrative portions of the Gospel.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMPOSITION OF S. LUKE'S GOSPEL

THE hypothesis that S. Luke's second source was identical with S. Matthew's, in other words that Q was a single document used by both these evangelists, is beset with great difficulties ; for the wide differences of wording in some cases, and the differences of context in many, are hard to explain if this view be correct.

Some critics, therefore, are of opinion that S. Matthew and S. Luke did not use Q in the same form : in other words, that Q is not in reality one document but two closely related ones. On the face of it, this assumption is reasonable enough, and there is *a priori* no reason to reject it. The use, however, of the same symbol, Q, to denote two distinct, if kindred, documents is confusing ; and the theory that Q existed in two different forms before it was embodied in our Gospels, is really tantamount to an admission that the second sources of S. Matthew and S. Luke were not in reality one and the same document.

If it be assumed that the second source used by S. Luke was practically identical with that used by S. Matthew, the matter peculiar to S. Luke has to be accounted for as derived either from a third written source, or from unwritten tradition, or partly from the one and partly from the other. But if it be assumed that S. Luke's second source differed considerably from S. Matthew's, there is no reason why it should not have contained much of the

peculiar Lucan matter. Thus, the hypothesis that the bulk of the non-Marcian matter recorded by S. Luke is derived from one source presents itself as a possible solution of this part of the problem. To call such a source Q is misleading, since that symbol naturally suggests to our minds the matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke, not that peculiar to either of them.

The theory we propose to examine is, that S. Luke's second source was not a collection consisting for the most part of discourses, as Q is usually assumed to have done, but a document which might fairly be described as 'a gospel.' This document we will allude to as 'T' (*i.e. tertium*, the third source of the Synoptic Gospels).

The reconstruction of such a document which, *ex hypothesi*, was used by one evangelist only, must obviously be quite tentative. Two lines of evidence are open to us: (1) that the existence of such a document, and its use by S. Luke, will account for the manner in which S. Luke has treated S. Mark's Gospel, *i.e.* his omission of some sections, his alteration of the order in certain places, his addition of new details in others; (2) that it will account for the use of certain expressions and constructions which do not seem to have been characteristic of the evangelist's own style.

In the latter case we can only expect to find slight traces of the style of the source, for S. Luke altered the style of the Marcan matter he embedded in his Gospel very freely, so that he is likely to have altered that of his other source also.

A few distinctively Marcan expressions are, however, traceable in S. Luke's Gospel: twice he has the expression 'from afar' (*ἀπὸ μακρόθεν*), which occurs five times in S. Mark, not at all in Acts, and nowhere else in S. Luke's Gospel; once he has 'not yet' (*οὐπω*), which occurs five times in S. Mark, but nowhere else in S. Luke or Acts;

once he has 'to look around' (*περιβλέπεσθαι*), which is found six times in S. Mark, and nowhere else in the New Testament; once he has an historic present in the same context as S. Mark, though in about ninety other cases where S. Mark has this construction S. Luke substitutes another for it.

These cases will suffice to show the sort of indications of the language and grammatical constructions of a source, which we may expect to find even after the careful editing to which S. Luke subjected the documents he embodied in his Gospel.

Before attempting to reconstruct T, it will be well to call attention to one strong reason for suspecting that S. Luke derived some of the matter commonly attributed to Q from a source other than that from which S. Matthew derived similar matter.

The parables of the great supper and of the pounds strongly resemble those of the marriage of the king's son and of the talents respectively; whether they be doublet versions of the same parables or no cannot be definitely decided; but, at any rate, it is not likely that the same source would have contained both the parable of the talents and that of the pounds; or that of the marriage of the king's son and that of the great feast. This would seem to show fairly conclusively that one of S. Luke's sources contained some matter akin to that preserved in one of S. Matthew's, but representing a different tradition, perhaps even a different ultimate source.

In most discussions of the literary relations of the second and third Gospels, whether it is assumed that S. Luke used S. Mark or an earlier Marcan document, it seems to be taken for granted that he made this document the groundwork of his own Gospel, and fitted into it matter derived from other

sources. This is, I believe, an unproved assumption. The evidence, to my mind, seems rather to indicate that S. Luke rather used his other source, T, as his ground-work, and fitted into it so much of S. Mark as suited his purpose. This view will account for the preference repeatedly shown for the non-Marcan over the Marcan form of narrative, and for the comparatively large amount of Marcan matter not used at all by S. Luke.

At any rate, it will be well worth the student's while carefully to compare these two Gospels with the assumption in his mind that S. Luke employed S. Mark only to supplement his other source. Several cases will be pointed out in which S. Luke appears to alter the narrative of S. Mark so as to bring it into harmony with matter which he derives from his other source. This seems again to indicate that he regarded S. Mark as a secondary source only, and T as the primary one.

If T represents, as we think, the Jerusalem tradition, it is likely enough that S. Luke was familiar with it before he read S. Mark's Gospel.

For the purposes of the present inquiry, S. Luke's Gospel may conveniently be divided into four sections:—

- I. The infancy narratives (Chapters i. and ii.).
- II. From the preaching of the Baptist to Christ's departure from Galilee (iii. 1-ix. 50).
- III. The last journey to Jerusalem (ix. 51-xviii. 14).
- IV. The last days and resurrection (xviii. 15 to the end).

In the second and fourth of these sections only is S. Mark used, for, as has already been shown (pp. 67-70), the scattered resemblances to S. Mark in the third section are probably not due to S. Luke's using the second Gospel in this portion of his narrative. But in the second and fourth sections S. Luke does not treat the Marcan matter in quite

the same way ; for while in the former the use of S. Mark is mostly indicated by the occurrence of considerable sections of S. Mark, in which S. Luke has made only verbal alterations, in the latter, especially in the account of the passion, the traces of the use of S. Mark often consist only of the use of Marcan phrases and turns of expression in the midst of what may well be an independent narrative of the same event.

Thus, while we may safely regard S. Mark as S. Luke's sole written source for such narratives as that of the raising of Jairus's daughter (p. 72), it would not be safe to regard S. Mark as his only documentary source for the account of Pilate's efforts to release Jesus. To demonstrate this we print the two passages side by side, the most striking words and phrases common to both Gospels being printed in italics.

It will be seen that, as far as the subject-matter goes, S. Luke adds practically nothing to what S. Mark tells us. In wording, the resemblances are no doubt sufficient to indicate that S. Luke made some use of S. Mark, but not sufficient to suggest that the second Gospel was his sole, or even his chief, source.

S. MARK XV. 6-15.

But at the feast he used to release to them one prisoner whom they asked for. But there was he, who was called Barabbas, bound with his fellow-insurgents, who had committed *murder in the insurrection* ; and going up the multitude began to ask him to do as he used to do to them. But Pilate answered them saying, Do ye wish that I should release to you the King of the Jews ? For he knew that through

S. LUKE XXIII. 13-25.

But Pilate having called together the chief priests and rulers of the people said to them, Ye brought this man to me as one who had perverted the people : and lo, I having examined him before you, find no fault in this man of the things of which you accuse him. No more did Herod, for he sent him back to us. And lo, nothing worthy of death has been done by him. Therefore having chastised him I shall re-

envy the chief priests had handed him over. But the chief priest incited the multitude that he should rather release Barabbas to them. But Pilate having answered again said to them, What then shall I do to him, whom ye call the King of the Jews? But they again cried, Crucify him. But Pilate said to them, *Why, what evil has he done?* But they cried out exceedingly, Crucify him. But Pilate wishing to content the multitude released to them Barabbas *and handed over* Jesus, having scourged him that he might be crucified.

lease him. But the whole cried out saying, Away with this man: release to us Barabbas, who was cast into prison on account of a certain *insurrection and murder*, which had taken place in the city. But again Pilate addressed them wishing to release Jesus. But they shouted saying, Crucify, crucify him. But he said to them the third time, *Why, what evil has this man done?* I find no cause of death in him, therefore having chastised I will release him. But they were insistent with loud voices asking that he should be crucified. And their voices prevailed. And Pilate gave judgement that what they asked should be done. But he released him who for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for. But Jesus he *handed over* to their will.

The portions of S. Luke, then, which may be wholly or partly derived from T can be divided into four classes:—

I. Matter to which the other synoptists present no parallels, *e.g.* the raising of the widow of Nain's son, the healing of the ten lepers, Christ's trial before Herod, the appearance of the two disciples going to Emmaus.

II. Matter which is not derived from S. Mark, but is substituted for similar matter found in him, *e.g.* the call of Simon and the miraculous draught of fishes (S. Luke v. 1-11), which takes the place of the call of the first four disciples (S. Mark i. 16-20); the visit of Jesus to Nazareth (S. Luke iv. 16-30), which is probably substituted for the account of the visit recorded by S. Mark (vi. 1-6).

III. Matter which is partly parallel to S. Mark or

S. Matthew, but which contains so many independent details as to suggest that S. Luke is conflating two narratives of the same event. In the case of S. Mark the most striking instance is the transfiguration. We give the accounts of this event as recorded by S. Mark and S. Luke in parallel columns, printing in italics those portions of the latter which seem to be independent of S. Mark:—

S. MARK IX. 2-8.

2. And after six days Jesus takes Peter and James and John and bears them up into a high mountain privately alone, and he was transfigured before them;

3. And his garments became glistening exceeding white so as no fuller on earth can whiten them.

4. And there appeared to them Elijah with Moses and they were talking with Jesus.

5. And Peter answered and said to Jesus, Rabbi, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.

6. For he did not know what to answer, for they were terrified.

S. LUKE IX. 28-36.

28. And it came to pass after these words about *eight days*, and taking Peter and James and John he went up into *the* mountain to pray;

29. And it came to pass *while he was praying that the fashion of his countenance was altered* and his raiment white and dazzling.

30. And behold two men were talking with him who were Moses and Elijah,

31. *Who appearing in glory were speaking of his decease which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.*

32. *But Peter and they who were with him were weighed down with sleep; but having woken up they saw his glory and the two men standing with him.*

33. *And it came to pass as they were parting from him Peter said, Master, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah, not knowing what he was saying;*

7. And there came a cloud overshadowing them,

and there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved son, hear him.

8. And looking around they saw no one any longer save Jesus only with themselves.

34. And as he was saying these things there came a cloud and overshadowed them, and they were afraid *as they were entering into the cloud.*

35. And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is my son, *the chosen one*, hear him.

36. *And when the voice came Jesus was found alone.*

In the case of S. Matthew a striking instance is provided by the teaching of the Baptist (S. Luke iii. 10-14 and 18; cf. S. Matthew iii. 1-12):—

‘And the multitudes asked Him, saying, What then are we to do? But He answering said to them, Let him that hath two coats impart to him that hath not; and let him that hath food do likewise. But publicans also came to be baptized, and they said to Him, Teacher, what are we to do? but He said to them, Extort no more than what is appointed you. But soldiers also asked Him, saying, But what are we to do? And He said to them, Do no man violence, nor accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages. And exhorting many other things, then He preached the gospel to the people.’

Not only are these verses wholly independent of S. Matthew's account, but their tone is different, being ethical, while that of S. Matthew's is rather denunciatory and Messianic.

iv. Passages which at first sight appear to be parallel to S. Mark, but on closer inspection seem really, like the account of Pilate's efforts to save Jesus, quoted above, to be drawn from some other source, *e.g.* the last supper, the agony, the resurrection. The high probability that S. Luke used a second source is seen when the Lucan and Marcan

accounts are placed side by side; and to illustrate this point the accounts of the agony and resurrection are thus printed:—

S. MARK XIV. 26, 32-42.

26. And, when they had sung a hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives . . .

32. And they came to a place, whose name is Gethsemane, and he says to his disciples, Sit here while I pray;

33. And he takes Peter and James and John with him, and began to be greatly amazed and sore troubled.

34. And he said to them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death, remain here and watch.

35. And going forward a little he fell upon the earth, and prayed that if it were possible the hour might pass away from him;

36. And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; let this cup pass from me, but not what I will but what thou wilt.

37. And he comes and finds them sleeping, and says to Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? Wast thou not strong enough (*οὐκ ἔσχυρας*) to watch one hour?

38. Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak.

S. LUKE XXII. 39-46.

39. And going forth he went according to his custom to the mount of Olives, but the disciples followed him.

40. But being at the place, he said, Pray that ye enter not into temptation.

41. and he was withdrawn from them about a stone's throw, and kneeling down he prayed, saying,

42. Father, if thou wilt, let this cup pass from me; however, not my will but thine be done.

43. And there appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him.

44. And being in an agony he prayed yet more earnestly, and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the earth.

39. And going away again he prayed, saying the same word.

40. And coming again he found them sleeping, for their eyes were very heavy, and they did not know what to answer him.

41. And he comes the third time, and says to them, Sleep henceforward and take rest. It is enough. The hour is come. Behold the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.

42. Arise, let us be going; behold he that betrayeth me is at hand.

45. And arising from prayer, coming to the disciples he found them sleeping for sorrow,

46. And said unto them, Why sleep ye? Rising up, pray that ye enter not into temptation.

S. MARK XVI. 1-8.

And the Sabbath being past, Mary Magdalene and Mary, the wife of James, and Salome, bought spices that they might go and anoint him. And very early the first day of the week they came to the tomb after sunrise. And they were saying to themselves, Who will roll the stone from the door of the tomb for us? and looking up they saw that the stone was rolled away, for it was very great. And entering the tomb they saw a young man sitting on the right arrayed in a white garment, and they were amazed. But he says to them, Do not be amazed. Ye seek Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go say to his disciples and to Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee. There shall ye see him, as he said to you. And going out they fled from the tomb, for trembling and

S. LUKE XXIII. 56; XXIV. 10.

But returning, they made ready spices and ointments. And they kept quiet on the Sabbath according to the commandment. But on the first day of the week at break of dawn they came to the tomb bearing the spices, which they had prepared. But going in they found not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass while they were perplexed about this, lo! two men stood by them in glittering apparel. But they being afraid, and bending their faces to the earth, they said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spake to you while he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be handed over into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remembered his sayings, and returning from the tomb announced all these things to the

astonishment had laid hold of them, and they said nothing to anybody, for they feared. . . . eleven and to all the rest. But they were Mary Magdalene and Joanna and Mary the wife of James and the remaining women with them said these things to the Apostles.

To these four classes of passages might be added a fifth, those passages in S. Luke which, though akin to S. Matthew, seem possibly to have been derived from T rather than directly from the source used by S. Matthew ; but it seems better to leave this matter open for the present, since it raises the question whether S. Luke used Q directly at all. The course we propose to follow is, first to state the case for supposing that T was a document of considerable extent, practically a gospel, and then to see whether it is probable that S. Luke derived from it the matter which the majority of scholars believe he derived from Q.

Now, if T was such a document as we have suggested, we should naturally expect to find some traces of its having affected the order of S. Luke's narrative, and some traces of peculiarity in wording or expression in passages assumed to be derived from it.

Differences of order between S. Luke and S. Mark :—

1. The visit to Nazareth is placed by S. Luke earlier than by S. Mark.
2. The call of Simon is placed later.
3. The prophecy that one of the disciples should betray Christ is placed by S. Luke after, by S. Mark before, the last supper.
4. The dispute for pre-eminence among the disciples is placed by S. Luke after the last supper, by S. Mark on the road from Galilee.
5. The trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin is placed by

S. Mark immediately after his arrest, by S. Luke on the following morning.

A reasonable explanation of these differences of order is afforded by the assumption that S. Luke is here following the order of T.

It will be worth while to examine the first two cases rather more in detail.

With regard to Christ's visit to Nazareth, we may naturally ask, Why does S. Luke place it where he does, especially as S. Mark records a visit to Nazareth at a later point in his Gospel? (S. Luke iv. 16-30; S. Mark vi. 1-6). There is a certain inappropriateness in the point chosen by S. Luke, for the people of Nazareth say to Christ, 'Whatsoever things we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in Thine own country,' though S. Luke has not yet made any mention of Christ's activity in Capernaum. The most satisfactory answer to our question then is, that S. Luke places this incident where he does because it is the first event in our Lord's public ministry recorded in T.

S. Luke's reasons for placing the call of Simon (S. Luke v. 1-11; S. Mark i. 16-20) later than S. Mark does, are not immediately obvious, though it is clear that the change of order was deliberate, from the fact that in the record of the events at Capernaum which follow the visit to Nazareth S. Luke alters the narrative in such a way as to remove the impression conveyed by S. Mark that Jesus was already accompanied by a little band of disciples, including Simon. This is shown by the change of plural verbs to singular ones, and especially by the change made in S. Luke iv. 42: 'And when it was day, going out, He came into a desert place, and the multitude sought Him, and came unto Him,' etc. The parallel in S. Mark i. 35, 36 runs: 'And in the

morning, a great while before day, He rose up, and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed. *And Simon and they that were with Him* followed after Him,' etc. Thus, not only does S. Luke depart from S. Mark's order in placing the call of Simon at a later point than that at which it occurs in the second Gospel, but he also modifies certain portions of paragraphs derived from S. Mark in order to bring the narrative into harmony with the change of order which he has made.

The change, then, was deliberately made, and we must suppose that S. Luke had some adequate reason for making it. The following hypothesis would provide such a reason:—

In the verse which immediately follows the account of the visit to Nazareth (iv. 31), S. Luke says, 'He came down into Capernaum, a city of Galilee'; this is parallel to S. Mark i. 21, 'And they came into Capernaum.' But it is quite possible that S. Luke derived his statement not from S. Mark but from T, *i.e.* that he found a point of contact between his two authorities at this point, both mentioning the coming of Christ to Capernaum. This hypothesis would satisfactorily explain the way in which events are arranged in S. Luke iv. and v. He follows T up to the mention of Christ's entry into Capernaum; at that point he turns to S. Mark, and follows him till the next break in his narrative (the brief record of a preaching tour in Galilee, S. Mark i. 39), and then returns to the next incident in T, the call of Simon.

Indeed, the whole arrangement of the second section of S. Luke's Gospel is not hard to account for, on the assumption that S. Luke noted the points of contact between S. Mark and T, and fitted the two documents together in such a way as to disturb the order of either as little as

possible; by the points of contact we mean those points at which the two documents gave the same events in the same order.

The T passages in this section (leaving parallels with S. Matthew out of count for the moment) are :—

The visit to Nazareth.

The call of Simon.

The choice of the twelve apostles (also S. Mark).

The raising of the widow of Nain's son.

The anointing in Simon's house.

Summary of Christ's preaching tours.

The transfiguration (also S. Mark).

Now it is noteworthy that (save one brief saying) the whole of the matter contained in S. Luke between the call of Simon and the choice of the Twelve is drawn from S. Mark, and, if we omit the possible Q matter in Chapters vi., vii., the whole of the matter between the summary of Christ's preaching tours and the transfiguration.

The arrangement is explained if we assume that S. Luke continued to draw his matter from one of his sources up to the point at which it ran parallel with the other; and at such points of contact, dovetailed the two together.

This arrangement may be shown as follows :—

iv. 14-30	.	.	.	T.
iv. 31 ^a	.	.	.	T and S. Mark parallel.
iv. 31 ^b -44	.	.	.	S. Mark.

(Break in narrative in both documents.)

v. 1-11	.	.	.	T.
v. 12-vi. 11	.	.	.	S. Mark.
vi. 12-19	.	.	.	T and S. Mark parallel.
(vi. 20-vii. 9	.	.	.	Q.)
vii. 11-17	.	.	.	T.

(vii. 18-35	.	.	.	Q.)
vii. 36-viii. 3	.	.	.	T.
viii. 4-ix. 27	.	.	.	S. Mark.
ix. 27-36	.	.	.	T and S. Mark parallel.

In the fourth section of the Gospel a somewhat similar case can be established.

Here the arrival of Jesus at Jericho is probably the point of contact, S. Mark recording the healing of Bartimaeus (S. Mark x. 46-52 ; S. Luke xviii. 35-43), and T the visit to Zacchaeus (S. Luke xix. 1-10), though the statement in S. Mark a little earlier (x. 1) that ' Jesus comes into the borders of Judea,' probably led S. Luke to include some Marcan matter, which occurs just before the arrival at Jericho.

From the parable of the pounds (S. Luke xix. 11-27) (T) right up to the account of the last supper, S. Luke seems to follow S. Mark, but from that point onwards the similarities to S. Mark are less frequent, the agreement in order less exact, and the use of T as the chief source becomes more probable.

The matter may be put thus: in his third section S. Luke followed entirely a non-Markan source; the mention of Christ's arrival in Judea (S. Mark x. 1) makes him return to S. Mark, and from him he derives xviii. 15-43, including his arrival at Jericho; having a fact connected with Jericho recorded in T, he returns to it and derives xix. 1-28 from it. Then he again takes up S. Mark, and derives from him xix. 29-xxii. 13. From this point his Gospel seems to be a combination of his two sources.

Thus we see that the evidence is compatible with, and in some cases seems almost to demand, the hypothesis that S. Luke was combining S. Mark with a second continuous

Gospel-narrative; for if, in such cases as the visit to Nazareth and the call of Simon, S. Luke was merely expanding the Marcan account by the aid of oral tradition, it would be impossible to give a satisfactory reason for his inserting them at a different point in the narrative from that at which they occur in S. Mark.

II. Peculiarity of diction.

S. Luke edited his sources so freely, especially in the matter of improving their diction, as may be seen from his treatment of S. Mark, that stylistic peculiarities of the source are naturally hard to detect. To render it probable that any expression is peculiar to the source, it will be necessary to show (a) that it is not distinctive of S. Luke, because it is absent from or rare in Acts and the Marcan portions of S. Luke; (b) that it is sufficiently distinctive to be reckoned a trick of style.

Such an expression is found in S. Luke's use of the word *αὐτός* 'he,' preceded by the conjunction 'and,' where the pronoun is not used reflexively, and no special emphasis is laid upon it. The following list of such uses is taken from Sir John Hawkins's *Horae Synopticae* (2nd edit., p. 41): S. Luke i. 17, 22; ii. 28; iii. 23; iv. 15; v. 1, 14, 17; vi. 20; viii. 1; ix. 51; xv. 14; xvi. 24; xvii. 13; xix. 2 (*bis*); xxiv. 14. All these he marks with an asterisk to show that in his opinion they are remarkable instances. To this list, perhaps, might be added xvii. 11, 16; xxii. 41; xxiv. 25, 28, 31, which are included in Sir John Hawkins's list, but not marked by him with an asterisk. With three exceptions these all occur in the T parts of S. Luke; two of these, v. 14, 17, are in a Marcan, and one, vi. 20, in a Q passage. The only occurrence of the expression outside S. Luke's Gospel which is really parallel to these in it is S. Mark viii. 29, 'And He asked them, But whom do you

say that I am ?' There are a few other instances in S. Matthew, S. Mark, and Acts, but in all of these the pronoun is either reflexive or emphatic.

If the expression were S. Luke's own, its absence from Acts, and its rarity in the Marcan portions of his Gospel, would be hard to account for, so it may be reckoned as probably a peculiarity of his source, T.

Another usage which may also be due to the same cause, is that of 'it came to pass' (ἐγένετο) followed by a finite verb, either with or without the conjunction 'and.' This occurs in S. Luke eleven times with 'and,' twenty-two times without it.

In Acts, save in one instance (v. 7), rightly marked as doubtful by Sir John Hawkins, the dependent verb is always in the infinitive.

In S. Mark it is twice followed by a finite verb without 'and,' in S. Matthew once by a finite verb with 'and,' and five times by a finite verb without 'and,' but in all these five cases it occurs in the formula which closes a collection of Christ's sayings, 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words' (or a similar sentence), which is probably due not to the evangelist but his source.

The instances in S. Luke are :—

With 'and' : v. 1, 12, 17 ; viii. 1, 22 ; ix. 51 ; xiv. 1 ; xvii. 11 ; xix. 15 ; xxiv. 4, 15.

Without 'and' : i. 8, 23, 41, 59 ; ii. 1, 6, 15, 46 ; vii. 11 ; ix. 18, 28, 33, 37 ; xi. 1, 14, 27 ; xvii. 14 ; xviii. 35 ; xix. 29 ; xx. 1 ; xxiv. 30, 51.

Of these thirty-three instances, seven only occur in Marcan passages : if the usage be due to the source T, the occurrence of it in these seven Marcan passages has to be accounted ; but if it be due to the evangelist, its absence from Acts, and its far greater frequency in the non-Markan

parts of the Gospel, need explaining. On the whole, the probabilities favour the view that it is a peculiarity of T, especially as in both the cases where S. Mark has the construction (i. 9; iv. 4), S. Luke does not reproduce it.

It is strange that both the cases in which 'and he,' and two of the seven in which 'it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb, are found in Marcan passages in S. Luke, should be in the same short passage (S. Luke v. 12-17). This might indicate that in this passage S. Luke was conflating S. Mark and T, as he does in one or two other places. This point will be found discussed in a note at the end of the chapter.

Sufficient has been said to show that there are just the traces of dislocation of the order of S. Mark, and of phraseology distinctive of a separate source, which we should expect to find if S. Luke was combining S. Mark with a second source of the nature we conjecture T to have been.

We must next consider the question which we have previously left open, Did S. Luke derive all or any of the matter common to him and S. Matthew from T? in other words, Was some of the matter, which many critics think S. Luke derived direct from Q, already combined with narrative matter in one of S. Luke's sources? First, it is noticeable that much of the matter commonly attributed to Q differs so widely in wording in S. Matthew and S. Luke that it can hardly be derived directly by both from the same source, *e.g.* the beatitudes, the parable of the lost sheep, the Lord's prayer (*vide supra* Chapter VI.). Secondly, that S. Luke preserves parables which, though akin to parables in S. Matthew, are obviously derived from an independent source, *e.g.* the pounds and the great feast. Thirdly, that in many cases of parallel sayings the context in the two Gospels is widely different, *e.g.* the Lord's prayer, Christ's lament over Jerusalem, the saying about blind

leaders. If all such passages as these be attributed to T, the differences of order between S. Matthew and S. Luke will be wholly, and those of wording partially, explained.

The Q matter in S. Luke is confined to the second and third sections, and the case of each must be considered separately.

I. Second section (iii. 1-ix. 50).

The Q matter here is confined to three passages :—

- (a) The account of the Baptist (iii.).
- (b) The sermon on the plain and the healing of the centurion's servant (vi. and vii.).
- (c) Sayings of Jesus about S. John Baptist (vii.).

Of these (a) and (c) may be taken together. As we have already shown (p. 185), the part of S. Luke's account of the Baptist's teaching which has no parallel in S. Matthew, is fairly complete in itself. It contains a reference to the baptism of publicans not found in S. Matthew, which is important, since the only part of S. Luke's version of Christ's sayings about the Baptist (vii. 29-30) which has no parallel in S. Matthew, is a reference to the publicans coming to John's baptism. It seems clear, then, that the Q matter and the peculiarly Lucan matter were not originally part of one account, but that two accounts of the Baptist's teaching have been combined, and the sayings of Jesus about the Baptist have been brought into harmony with this combined account.

The sayings of Christ about the Baptist occur in different contexts in the two Gospels, so that the question must remain open whether S. Luke or the author of T combined the two accounts of the Baptist's teaching.

The case of the sermon on the plain is different ; though in its general structure it resembles the sermon on the

mount, it is much shorter, containing only thirty verses, whereas the sermon on the mount contains one hundred and nine: yet, even so, six verses of the sermon on the plain lack parallels in that on the mount, and only in the case of three verses—the parable of the mote and the beam, and the golden rule, ‘As ye would that men should do to you, do to them likewise’—is the likeness of wording very close.

The points in the narrative at which the sermons occur in the two Gospels are widely different, and save that in both the sermon stands in proximity to the healing of the centurion's servant, the evidence seems strongly against the view that the two evangelists derived their matter directly from the same document.

As far, then, as the second section of S. Luke is concerned, it seems that the bulk of the matter is derived from S. Mark and T, though there is some doubt in the case of the teaching of the Baptist, and our Lord's sayings about him.

The case of our Lord's temptation must also be left doubtful. The differences between the accounts of S. Matthew and S. Luke are sufficiently striking to admit of their not having drawn directly upon a common source. It is, however, a narrative passage, and we know from S. Luke's treatment of S. Mark that he often freely altered narrative passages. It may therefore well be that S. Luke derived this passage from Q. On the other hand, as we have reason to believe that T was a complete gospel, it would probably have included an account of the temptation, so that, on the whole, it is more likely that S. Luke derived his narrative from T than direct from Q.

When we turn to the third section of S. Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14), we are struck, first, by the absence of any Marcan

matter, and secondly, by the large amount of parables which it contains: of the sixteen parables as usually reckoned peculiar to S. Luke, fourteen are found in this section of the Gospel. Many of these are akin to the parable of the two debtors found in the second section, and to that of the pounds found in the fourth, and, like them, arise out of the narrative, *e.g.* the good Samaritan, the rich fool, the great feast. It is probable, therefore, that these parables all belong to one source, T, and it is worth noting that both the expressions, which we saw were probably characteristics of T, are found in the parables as well as in the narrative portions of S. Luke.

In this section, too, there are a number of narratives peculiar to this Gospel—the healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity, of the ten lepers, of the man with dropsy, the mission of the seventy, the visit to Martha's house—besides others which might be regarded as inserted chiefly as introducing sayings or parables (*e.g.* the man who asked Jesus to bid his brother divide the inheritance with him). There are also the frequent indications of Christ's progress from place to place: He is represented as journeying the whole time. Indeed, so striking a feature is this, that some critics have regarded this whole section of the Gospel as derived from a travel document. It has not been so clearly seen that the same feature presents itself in the T portions of the second section also, for there the fact is somewhat obscured by the large masses of Marcan matter inserted. We append a list of such passages running through both sections:—

- iv. 14. 'And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee' (this passage is probably independent of S. Mark).
- iv. 16. 'And He came to Nazareth.'

- iv. 31. 'And He came down to Capernaum' (probably independent of S. Mark. See page 190).
- vii. 1. 'He entered into Capernaum.'
- vii. 11. 'And it came to pass in order that He went into a city called Nain.'
- viii. 1. 'And it came to pass in order that He went through cities and villages.'
- ix. 51. 'And He set His face to go to Jerusalem.'
- ix. 57. 'And as they were going, a certain man said to Him.'
- x. 38. 'And as they were going, He entered into a certain village.'
- xvii. 11. 'And it came to pass, as He was going to Jerusalem He passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.'
- xix. 25. 'And He went before going up to Jerusalem.'

Thus we see that T represents the Galilean, no less than the Peraean, ministry of Christ as one of constant movement from place to place; so much so, that this may be regarded as a characteristic of the document.

In considering the question whether S. Luke used Q in the third section of his Gospel (ix. 51-xviii. 14), it will be best first to look at the latter portion of it, viz. from xiii. 1 onwards. Here, out of one hundred and eighty-four verses, only about eight so closely resemble kindred passages of S. Matthew as to be probably drawn directly from the same source (xiii. 18-20, 34, 35; xvi. 13; xvii. 26, 27), while about thirty-six more are akin to passages of S. Matthew in subject-matter and, to some degree, in wording, though they often present striking variations in this respect. These thirty-six verses were then probably not derived by S. Luke direct from Q, but already stood in T, and it is at least as likely that some few verses of Q should already

have stood in T, as that S. Luke, if he used Q at all here, should have used it so sparingly.

The direct use of Q in these passages is of course possible, but it is more probable that the passages as a whole stood in T.

But if once it be admitted that T contained some matter obviously derived from Q in this portion of the Gospel, the likelihood that Q passages found in the earlier part of the third section, and in the second section as well, were derived by S. Luke from T, and not directly from Q, is considerably increased.

In the earlier part of the third section (S. Luke ix. 51-xii. 59), there is a large proportion of matter closely akin to S. Matthew, and therefore likely to have been drawn direct from Q.

Some of the passages have already been discussed in Chapter VI., and need only be treated briefly here. If T, as we saw was most probable, contained the sermon on the plain, it may well have contained other discourses akin to matter contained in S. Matthew; such, for instance, as the charge to the seventy (x. 1-16), the sayings against the Pharisees (xi. 42-52), the eschatological sayings (xvii. 22-37).

On the other hand, as in the second section we found passages (*e.g.* Christ's sayings about the Baptist) which seemed to stand in a very close relation to their parallels in S. Matthew, so, in this part of the third also, we find the same phenomenon. A few of these must be considered—

1. The men who aspired to follow Christ (S. Luke ix. 57-62; S. Matthew viii. 18-22). S. Matthew gives only two, S. Luke three, cases. The first evangelist, with his love for groups of three similar incidents, would certainly not have omitted one case had he found three in his source. The third case in S. Luke may then safely be regarded as

not coming directly from Q. If he derived it from T, his reason for placing the incident where he does becomes manifest. As far as the order goes he follows T, perhaps supplementing the narrative with similar matter from Q. It is even possible that the third case may be a variant tradition of the second, the difficult saying, 'Leave the dead to bury their dead,' having been in course of time replaced by an easier saying of somewhat similar import, 'He that putteth his hand to the plow and looketh on the things behind, is not fit for the kingdom of God': indeed, the latter saying might almost have been a teacher's explanation of the former.

Thus the passage may be one in which the evangelist has combined matter from two sources at the point in T at which he found the incident placed, for in S. Matthew the sayings are given much earlier in Christ's ministry.

II. The charge that Christ cast out demons through Beelzebub, and His reply (S. Luke xi. 14-28; S. Matthew xii. 22-30, 43-45. Cf. also S. Mark iii. 23-27, and S. Matthew ix. 32-34). The phenomena are here unusually complicated. The following points are important:—

- (a) S. Matthew gives the episode at length at the same point as S. Mark, viz. in connection with the coming to Christ of his mother and brethren.
- (b) S. Luke gives it at a later point, but, like S. Matthew, connects it with the casting out of a dumb demon.
- (c) S. Matthew gives the accusation in another place as well (S. Matthew ix. 32-34).
- (d) S. Luke has, peculiar to himself, the saying of the woman, 'Blessed be the womb that bare Thee,' which closes the episode; and gives the saying about the strong man in an independent form.

S. LUKE XI. 21, 22.

When the strong man armed guards his own hall his goods are in peace, but when a stronger than he coming upon him conquers him he takes from him all his armour, in which he had trust, and divides his spoils.

S. MATTHEW XII. 29.

How can any man entering into the house of the strong man plunder his furniture except he first bind the strong man, then shall he plunder his house?

The variations of S. Luke here are rendered all the more striking by the fact that, in the paragraphs immediately preceding and following, his verbal resemblance to S. Matthew is very close.

The most satisfactory explanation of the passage as a whole is that S. Luke found in T the saying about the strong man, which he found also in Q. This being a point of contact between his two sources, he inserted the episode at the point at which T gave it, adding the additional matter found in Q, but preserving T's form of the 'strong man' saying.

This explanation accounts for why S. Luke gives the incident at a later point than S. Mark, why in the main he follows Q, and why at one point he gives a variant version of a similar saying.

III. Sayings against anxiety for worldly possessions (S. Luke xii. 22-34 ; S. Matthew vi. 19-21, 25-34). As far as verse 31 the resemblance between the two Gospels is very close. In the remaining three verses the differences are no less remarkable.

S. LUKE XII. 31-34.

Fear not, little flock, it is your father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Sell your goods and give alms. Make to yourselves purses that do not grow old, an endless treasure in the

S. MATTHEW VI. 19-21.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust tarnish (*ἀφαιτίζετ*), and where thieves break through and steal ; but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where

heavens, where thief does not neither moth nor rust tarnishes, draw near nor moth destroy and where thieves do not break (διαφθείρει), for where your treasure through nor steal. For where sure is, there also your heart will your treasure is, there will be also be. your heart.

Here, again, the explanation seems to be that the passage is partly drawn from T (viz. the parables) and verses 31-34, a suitable passage from Q being combined with them.

It will now be possible to give tentatively a list of the matter probably drawn from T in this section.

In the third section of S. Luke's Gospel, then, as in the second, while much of the matter akin to S. Matthew is more likely to have been derived by S. Luke from T than directly from Q, there remain a few passages in which the direct use of Q is perhaps the more probable hypothesis. These are: ix. 57-60; xi. 9-13, 14-20, 24-26, 29-32; xii. 2-9, 22-31, 39-46.

We conclude, then, that throughout the Gospel much of the matter commonly supposed by critics to have been derived by S. Luke from Q was already combined in T with other matter, some of which was akin to S. Mark.

It may be objected that if one of the sources of S. Luke was as full as we assume T to have been, S. Luke was a mere redactor or little more, but it must be remembered that upon any hypothesis he worked from and combined existing sources.

The existence of a gospel, for such T must have been at the time S. Luke wrote, is not improbable when we remember the statement of the evangelist's own preface that '*many* had taken in hand' to draw up an account of the words and deeds of Christ.

Nor is it an objection of weight that T has perished, for so has Q, and so did S. Mark very nearly. S. Luke's Gospel, combining, as it seems to have done, the bulk of T with

S. Mark, probably ousted its source from use ; indeed, it is stranger that S. Mark has survived than that T has perished.

It might be urged that S. Luke himself was the author of T, and, subsequently coming upon a copy of S. Mark, inserted matter from this Gospel in his own. A strong argument against this view, however, is found in the fact that two tricks of style (the use of the unemphatic 'and he' and 'it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb) are not characteristic of S. Luke's style in Acts.

The case for supposing that S. Luke derived the bulk of his non-Marcan matter from T rather than from Q and oral tradition, or a variety of written sources, will be much strengthened if we find reason to suppose that the bulk of the non-Marcan matter in S. Matthew also was drawn from one document.

We append for reference a list of the passages which we ascribe to T (leaving Chapters i. and ii. out of account) :—

- iii. 1, 2, 10-15, 18, 23-38.
- iv. 1-30.
- v. 1-11.
- vi. 12-16 (partly), 20-49.
- vii. 1-17, 36-50.
- viii. 1-3 ; ix. 10, 11(?).
- ix. 28-36 (partly), 51-56, 61, 62.
- x. 1-42.
- xi. 1-8, 21, 22, 27, 28, 33-54.
- xiii. 1-xviii. 14 (except possibly a few scattered verses).
- xix. 1-28, 39, 44.
- xxii. 15-46, 66-71.
- xxiii. 1-25, 27-31, 39-43, 46, 56.
- xxiv.

In the latter part of this list passages are included as found in T wherever S. Luke seems to have been combining S. Mark with another source, as well as wherever the matter he gives is peculiar to himself.

The question of the birth and infancy narratives (S. Luke i. and ii.) will be treated separately, as also that of the narratives of the appearances of the risen Lord.

The following passages may have been derived by S. Luke directly from Q, or may already have been embodied in T, but must be set down as ultimately derived from the same source as their parallels in S. Matthew, allowing for combination with Marcan matter when the two sources were parallel :—

iii. 7-9, 16, 17.

vii. 18-35.

ix. 57-60.

xi. 9-13, 14, 17, 20, 23-26, 29, 32.

xii. 2-9, 22-31, 34, 39-40, 42-46, 57-59.

xiii. 18-20.

xiv. 34-35.

xvi. 13, 18.

As far as regards the nature of the ultimate source, it makes very little difference whether S. Luke derived this matter from it directly, or indirectly through the medium of T. The purpose of the present chapter has not been the reconstruction of any common document which may have been used by S. Matthew and S. Luke, but reconstruction of a document which we believe to have been used by S. Luke only.

The most widely accepted critical hypothesis with regard to the composition of S. Luke's Gospel is, that it is a combination of S. Mark and Q, with peculiar matter

derived from other sources, written or oral. The many difficulties involved in the theory that S. Luke used a non-Markan document identical with, or very closely akin to, that used by S. Matthew, have led us to attempt another solution of the problem presented by S. Luke.

The solution offered is that he used S. Mark and T (a second complete gospel); that much of the Lucan matter commonly ascribed to Q was already embodied in T; and that S. Luke, if he used Q at all, used it but sparingly. The probability of this theory depends entirely upon the value of the arguments used to show that the portions of S. Luke ascribed to T possess a homogeneity of their own, other than that which they derived from the evangelist himself.

NOTE 1

The Cleansing of the Leper (S. Luke v. 12-17; S. Mark i. 40-ii. 1). This episode is generally regarded as drawn by S. Luke from S. Mark. The resemblances are in places very close. What we have to consider is whether S. Luke was not here conflating S. Mark and T. In favour of this view is the occurrence in this short passage of S. Luke (i) of the unemphatic 'and he' (twice), verses 14 and 17; (ii) of 'it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb (twice), verses 12 and 17.

If this were all, the case would not be strong for the supposition we have suggested: but it is not all.

The conclusion of the episode of the leper is different in the two Gospels.

S. MARK i. 45.

But he having gone out began to preach much, and to spread abroad *the word*, so that he was no longer able to enter openly into a city, but was without in the *desert* places, and they came to him from everywhere.

S. LUKE v. 15.

But so much more went forth *the word* concerning him, and many multitudes came together to hear and to be healed of their infirmities, but he was withdrawing in *the deserts* and praying.

Here, despite certain resemblances of wording, the general import of the passages is not quite the same; the difference, however, is

far more striking in the verses which follow immediately in both Gospels, and which are usually regarded as introducing the healing of the paralytic.

S. MARK II. 1-2.

And having again entered into Capernaum, after some days it was heard that he is at home, and many were gathered together, so that there was no longer room not even about the door, and he was speaking the word to them.

S. LUKE V. 17.

And it came to pass on one of the days, and he was teaching and there were sitting Pharisees and teachers of the law who had come out of every village of Galilee and Judaea and Jerusalem, and there was a power of the Lord that he should heal.

[So R. V. marg.].

The differences here are so great that S. Luke, if he is merely altering S. Mark, is altering him out of all recognition. In this verse in S. Luke we have the characteristic 'and it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb, and the unemphatic 'and he,' both of which suggest its derivation from T.

We suggest, then, that this verse stood in T not as an introduction to the healing of the paralytic which follows it in S. Luke, but as the next incident after the healing of the leper: which in that case will be, like the transfiguration, the agony, etc., an incident recorded in S. Mark and T.

If this case stood alone, the Lucan peculiarities would perhaps be best explained as due to the revising hand of the evangelist: but since in most of the other places, where the same peculiarities occur, their presence is most probably due to the use of the source T, the same explanation becomes the more probable one in this case also.

NOTE 2

The episode of the woman taken in adultery is no part of S. John's Gospel, though in the *Textus receptus* it figures as S. John vii. 53-viii. 11. The external evidence is overwhelming against it: none of the great Uncial MSS. save D have it, nor do some of the best cursives; in some of the MSS. which have it, it is placed elsewhere, in four cases not in S. John at all but after S. Luke xxi.

Its early currency is, however, shown by the fact that it occurs in D, in most of the old Latin copies, and in the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary, while Jerome speaks of it as being in many Greek and Latin MSS.

The internal evidence, both as regards the general tone and the

literary style of the passages, suggests its connection with the Synoptic Gospels rather than S. John.

If it occurred in a larger number of MSS. or in any of the oldest uncials after S. Luke xxi., it would be easy to believe that that was its original place; but the fact that it is so placed only by four cursives, all belonging to the same group (Ferrariani), is against this supposition.

If the majority of critics who regard it as a genuine piece of evangelic tradition are right, as there can be little doubt that they are, it will be well worth while carefully to consider its relation to the synoptic tradition, and see whether any probable theory can be found as to its origin.

The style of the passage as a whole is akin to that of the Synoptic Gospels, so the question which we will first consider is whether this passage shows closer affinities to one of the synoptists (*i.e.* S. Luke) than to the others. In order to do this, certain words and phrases found both here and in the synoptists must be examined.

(i) viii. 1. '*The mount of Olives*' (Ἐλαιῶν). We find the same form three times in S. Matthew, three times in S. Mark, and twice in S. Luke (xix. 37; xxii. 39). Twice in S. Luke we find '*the mount called of Olives*' (xix. 29; xxi. 37); in Acts i. 12 we find '*the mount called Olivet*' (Ἐλαιῶνος): these are the only occurrences in the New Testament. The insertion of the word '*called*' (καλούμενον) before a proper name is not found in S. Matthew and S. Mark.

(ii) viii. 2. '*Early dawn*' (ἄρθρον). This word occurs elsewhere in the New Testament; only in S. Luke xxiv. 1 and Acts v. 21. An adjective formed from it is found in S. Luke xxiv. 22 ('*certain women being early at the tomb*'). S. Mark and S. Matthew use other expressions in the passages parallel to S. Luke xxiv. 1. So the word may be reckoned as a link with S. Luke.

'*Came*' (παργέμετο) is very common in Acts, and occurs fairly frequently in S. Luke, but only thrice in S. Matthew and once in S. Mark. The reading, however, is doubtful here.

'*Again*' (πάλιν). Very common in S. Matthew and S. Mark; only twice in S. Luke; six times in Acts. The usage here is similar to that of S. Mark, and it is worth noting that S. Luke habitually omits the word from the passages where it is found in S. Mark. Its usage here, then, may be considered as non-Lucan. Further, it is interesting as probably indicating that this passage originally occurred in a continuous narrative, containing a previous reference to Christ being in the temple.

'*All the people*' (πᾶς ὁ λαός). This phrase occurs once in S. Matthew (xxvii. 25), not at all in S. Mark, nine times in

S. Luke (and a similar phrase (*ἀπας*) twice), and five times in Acts (i.-xii.), also Acts xiii. 24. The phrase, then, may be regarded as distinctively Lucan.

'*Having sat down he taught.*' The same phrase occurs in S. Luke v. 3 only: similar expressions are found in S. Matthew v. 1 and S. Luke iv. 20.

- viii. 3. '*They bring*' (*ἀγούσιν*). An historic present (cf. verse 4): a construction common in S. Matthew, very common in S. Mark, but rare, especially in narrative, in S. Luke. Once only, viii. 49, does S. Luke reproduce it when he is drawing from S. Mark. Of the other five cases which occur in the narrative, all occur in those portions which we have seen reason to attribute to the source T, though the passages in which two of these occur, viz. xxiv. 12 and 36, are bracketed by Westcott and Hort as probably spurious. This construction is also found five times in parables in S. Luke, all of them being parables peculiar to this Gospel, and thirteen times in Acts. It is certainly not a distinctively Lucan construction. It may, however, be regarded as distinctive of T: for of its eleven (or nine) occurrences in S. Luke's Gospel all save one (which is in a passage parallel to S. Mark) occur in 'T' passages.

'*The Scribes and Pharisees.*' This phrase occurs nine times in S. Matthew (eight of these being in Chapter xxiii.), not at all in S. Mark, and thrice in S. Luke.

- viii. 5. '*Thou therefore*' (*σὺ οὖν*). This phrase is not found in S. Matthew or S. Mark: it occurs in S. Luke iv. 7 and xxii. 70, and once in Acts.
- viii. 6. '*That they might have to accuse him.*' The construction of 'have' (*ἔχειν*), with a verb in the infinitive dependent on it, is found once in S. Matthew, five times in S. Luke, six times in Acts: it may therefore be regarded as Lucan.
- viii. 7. '*Continued*' (*ἐπιμένειν*) is not found in the Gospels, but is frequent in Acts.

'*To lift up*' (*ἀνακύπτειν*), cf. v. 10. Occurs in S. Luke xiii. 11; xxi. 28, and nowhere else in New Testament.

- viii. 9. '*One by one*' (*εἰς καθ' εἰς*). Elsewhere in New Testament, only in S. Mark xiv. 11.

'*Beginning from*' (*ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ*) is found once in S. Matthew, thrice in S. Luke (xxiii. 5; xxiv. 27, 47), thrice in Acts i.-xii.

'*The eldest*' (*πρεσβύτερος*). In its original sense this word is found in the New Testament only here and in S. Luke xv. 25; elsewhere in the New Testament it always has a technical sense, i.e. elders of the Jewish or Christian Church.

'*Alone*' (*μνος*). This word is used in this sense in all the synoptists (cf. especially S. Luke ix. 36; x. 40); it does not occur in Acts.

viii. 11. '*From henceforth*' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*). This phrase is not found in S. Matthew or S. Mark: it occurs once only in Acts, but five times in S. Luke (i. 48; v. 10; xii. 52; xxii. 18, 69), four of which are in T passages.

Reviewing this evidence, we find that at first sight it appears somewhat conflicting. The use of the following words and phrases 'early dawn,' 'came' (*παρεγένετο*), 'all the people,' 'having sat down he taught,' 'thou therefore,' 'have' (followed by an infinitive), 'continued,' 'beginning from,' 'the eldest,' 'from henceforth,' all point to a connection between this passage and S. Luke.

On the other hand, the use of the historic present and the manner in which the word again is employed, are rather against this conclusion. The solution of the problem which we would offer is that this passage is not the work of S. Luke, but is derived from his source T.

Of the words and phrases of this passage which we have been considering, the following are found in the T portions of S. Luke:—

- (1) 'Early dawn.'
- (2) 'Came,' six of the eight occurrences.
- (3) Use of historic present: all save the one parallel to S. Mark.
- (4) 'He sat down and taught,' the only occurrence: also a similar expression (iv. 20).
- (5) 'Thou therefore,' both times in a passage when T was used.
- (6) 'To have' followed by the infinitive: all five cases.
- (7) 'To lift up,' certainly one of the two cases.
- (8) 'Beginning from,' all three cases.
- (9) 'The eldest,' the only case.
- (10) 'From henceforth,' certainly four, perhaps all five.

If the question were simply to explain the points of similarity between this passage and S. Luke's Gospel, there would be no difficulty in considering all these words and phrases as due to the evangelist himself, for seven of the ten occur in Acts. The question is, however, complicated by the presence of a non-Lucan element: especially the use of an historic present twice in a short passage, and of the word 'again.'

The expressions 'thou therefore,' 'from henceforth,' 'early dawn,' are found in S. Luke and Acts, but not in S. Matthew and S. Mark.

The word 'alone' is found in S. Matthew, S. Mark and S. Luke, the expression 'one by one' in S. Mark, but neither of them in Acts.

Further, it must be remembered that in the case of the distinctively Lucan word 'came,' the reading is doubtful: while in the case of the

expression 'all the people,' five of the six occurrences in Acts are in Chapters i.-xii., for which there is reason to think S. Luke possessed a written source.

It may be said, then, that if our theory of the existence of T and S. Luke's use of it be correct, the wording of this passage is quite consistent with its having formed a part of T; and, indeed, such a supposition best explains the combination of Lucan and non-Lucan elements in it.

We have already stated that this episode is placed in some MSS. after S. Luke xxi. 37, 38. These verses run:—

'But he was by day in the Temple teaching, but by night he went out and lodged in the mount called of Olives, and all the people gathered to him in the temple to hear him.'

The connection is most appropriate; but if the episode was in reality a part of S. Luke's Gospel, how are we to account for its ever having dropped out? Our suggestion is that S. Luke found it in T, but omitted it because of a certain similarity it bore to the story of the woman who was a sinner: for S. Luke seems to have avoided giving accounts of similar events (*e.g.* he omits the anointing at Bethany, the feeding of the four thousand, the walking on the sea, all of which are somewhat akin to events he does relate, viz. the anointing in the Pharisee's house, the feeding of the five thousand, the stilling of the storm). The language of the episode has, however, left its trace on S. Luke xxi. 37, 38, especially in the phrases 'mount of Olives,' 'all the people.' It is noteworthy, however, that here S. Luke uses an expression characteristic of himself, 'the mount called of Olives' (cf. xix. 29, a passage based on S. Mark): this form of expression, it is true, is found in T passages, but being common in Acts, is probably due to the evangelist himself.

It is possible, then, that the occurrence of this episode in S. Luke's Gospel in some MSS. may not be due merely to an arbitrary act of a copyist, but may have been due to the fact that it was inserted in some copy at an early date by a copyist who knew the source from which much of the Gospel was drawn, as well as the Gospel itself. Two cases, now usually regarded as insertions in S. Luke, are worth considering:—

- i. S. Luke xxiv. 12. 'But Peter, rising up, ran to the tomb, and bending down he seeth the linen clothes alone: and he departed to his own wondering at what had happened.'

Though strongly supported by the external evidence, this verse is omitted by most modern editors as spurious; the supposition being that it is inserted from matter found in S. John xx. 4-10, the relevant parts of which we give—'Then

Peter and the other disciples . . . went to the tomb . . . and the other disciple *bending down seeth the linen clothes lying* . . . then the disciples *departed again to their own.*

The italics mark striking agreements in wording.

The textual evidence for the insertion of the verse is **NB** and other uncials, the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac, the Vulgate, and some old Latin MS. ; against it, D, some old Latin, and the Canon of Eusebius.

Now Blass has pointed out that S. Luke xxiv. 24, 'And some of those with us went to the tomb and found as the women had said,' which is universally attested, seems to require the genuineness of v. 12 also. But if it is genuine, how is the likeness to S. John to be explained? As an alternative to the usual explanation, that the verse is an interpolation in S. Luke derived from S. John, we would suggest that the verse stood originally in T, and was derived thence by S. John, whose similarities with the latter part of S. Luke are considered later. In this case the verse will either be genuine in S. Luke, or will have been inserted at a very early date by a copyist who was acquainted with T.

In it we notice an historic present, 'seeth,' characteristic of T rather than of the evangelist: 'rising up' (*ἀναστὰς*), which, though found in all the synoptists and Acts, is commonest in the T portions of S. Luke and the first twelve chapters of Acts (ten at least of the sixteen occurrences in the Gospel being in T parts, and twelve of the eighteen in Acts in i.-xii.). 'Ran' (*ἔδραμεν*), which is omitted by S. Luke in both the passages in which it occurs in S. Mark, is found in S. Luke elsewhere only in a T passage (xv. 20). 'Alone' (*μόνα*) is not found at all in Acts. The word 'to wonder,' followed by an accusative as object, is found only here and S. Luke vii. 9 in the synoptists; it occurs once in Acts vii. 31.

- II. S. Luke xxiv. 36. 'And saith to them, Peace to you.' These words, as well as the twelfth verse, are usually regarded as a later insertion derived from S. John. The evidence for the omission or retention is similar in the two cases, so that here again the external evidence is strongly in favour of genuineness.

If the twelfth verse stood in T it is likely that this sentence did so as well. We notice the presence of an historic present, which tends to confirm the supposition, while the occurrence of parallels to S. Luke xxiv. 12 and 36 in S. John's Gospel will probably be the same in both cases.

The conclusion at which we arrive, then, with regard to these two passages, is that, whether originally part of S. Luke's Gospel or not, they were a part of his source T.

If this be so, every case of the use of an historic present in S. Luke, which is not derived from S. Mark, will be derived from T.

Now the episode of the woman taken in adultery has been shown to belong to the Lucan cycle of tradition ; i.e. it comes originally either from S. Luke or one of his sources. The occurrence in it of two historic presents favours the latter conclusion, the other evidence from wording being of such a nature as to be compatible with either supposition. On the other hand, the absence of the episode from the great majority of the MSS. and versions of S. Luke, and its insertion in a few, are more easily explained on the view that it is a genuine fragment of one of his sources rather than of his Gospel.

On the strength of a passage in Eusebius's *History*, iii. 39, this episode is often supposed to be derived from Papias, or the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Eusebius's words are, 'He also gives another history of a woman who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which is also contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.'

Now, in the first place, it is not certain that Eusebius is referring to the episode we are discussing at all : and even if he is, it does not follow that the episode, as it stands in the Gospel MSS., came from this source.

The relation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews to the synoptic problem is considered in Chapter XII. Here it need only be said that the passage in Eusebius is too vague, and of too uncertain import, to cast much light on the subject.

We have dwelt at length on this episode because, if our view be correct that it stood originally in T though not in S. Luke's Gospel, it shows us two things.

- I. That T contained some matter which S. Luke omitted.
- II. That in the matter of vocabulary there was a resemblance between S. Luke and T, so that the occurrence of words and phrases in T passages, which are found also in Acts, may be due to the source, and not in all cases to the evangelist.

NOTE 3

In the account of Christ's baptism, S. Luke iii. 22, there is considerable authority for reading 'Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee,' in place of 'Thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.' The authority for the former reading is D, some old Latin MSS., and a number of quotations in the Fathers (chiefly Latin). Now, since the commonly received reading in S. Luke is here practically identical with that of S. Matthew and S. Mark in the parallel passages, the occurrence of the variant in S. Luke has to be accounted for. There appear to be three possible explanations.

- I. It may be a mere corruption due to a copyist: but such an explanation in the case of a reading, which is so fraught with difficulty, is far from satisfactory.
- II. It may, as Blass thinks, be the original reading in S. Luke, for which at an early date the reading of S. Mark was substituted.
- III. It may be the reading of T, rejected by S. Luke in favour of that of S. Mark, but reintroduced into the Gospel by some copyist who was familiar with that document.

In this case the history of this reading will be similar to that which has been suggested in the case of the episode of the woman taken in adultery, and possibly also of some other notable readings in S. Luke preserved only in Western authorities.

NOTE 4

SOME ILLUSTRATIVE POINTS IN ACTS

In the earlier chapters of Acts there are two passages which have a direct bearing on the Synoptic problem.

- I. The death of Judas, Acts i. 18, 19.

‘This man then obtained a field with the reward of injustice, and having fallen headlong burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known to all the dwellers in Jerusalem, so that that field is called in their language Akeldama, that is, a field of blood.’ Now if this is compared with the account given in S. Matthew xxvii. 3-8, it is clear that the two narratives are derived from quite independent traditions. In S. Matthew, Judas makes no use of the money, but repents and returns it to the chief priests: he commits suicide, and does not die of an accident: it is the priests who buy the field: and the name of the field is due to the fact that it was bought with blood-money, not to the tragic death of its owner. Here once more, perhaps, S. Luke follows the tradition of Jerusalem; S. Matthew that of Galilee.

- II. S. Peter’s summary of the work of Jesus, x. 37, 38.

‘That saying ($\beta\eta\mu\alpha$) ye yourselves know, which happened throughout all Judaea beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus who was from Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power.’

This passage should be compared with S. Luke xxiii. 5 (the accusation made against Jesus by the priests to Pilate). ‘He stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, and beginning from Galilee unto this place.’

In both these passages we find the same conception of Christ’s

ministry, a teaching which began after John's baptism in Galilee, and then throughout 'all Judaea.' Now this expression 'all Judaea' (ὅλη (or πᾶσα) Ἰουδαία) seems to imply the whole land of the Jews, including Galilee and Peraea, but not Samaria; so that these passages are quite in accord with the picture of Christ's activity, which we believe S. Luke to have found in T, a continuous preaching throughout the whole country, starting from Galilee and ending in Jerusalem. A different picture, it must be remembered, from that implied by S. Mark. For the phrase 'beginning from,' we may compare Acts i. 22 ('beginning from the baptism of John') and S. Luke iii. 23, where immediately after the record of Christ's baptism by John we read 'and Jesus was beginning.' The occurrence of these phrases and ideas by themselves prove nothing, but they do suggest to our minds the question whether, for the earlier portion of Acts, S. Luke may not have used a written source, and whether that source may not have been akin to T.

It will be worth while to note a few indications pointing in this direction: these consist of words and phrases common in S. Luke's Gospel (in some cases especially in the portions peculiar to him) and Acts i.-xii., but comparatively rare elsewhere in the Gospels and Acts 'rising up' (ἀναστάς) 'in those (ταύταις) days,' the construction 'in the' (ἐν τῷ) followed by the infinitive 'before' (ἐνώπιον, i.e. before the face of) 'saying' (ῥῆμα), 'all the people,' 'beginning from.'

Such a list is inconclusive, but if it fails to show that for the first twelve chapters of Acts S. Luke had a source akin to T, it at least indicates the possibility of such having been the case. The question is perhaps not one that can be demonstrated by a mere counting of the occurrences of words, phrases, and constructions. The point to which we would call attention is, that the occurrence of certain peculiarities of style far more frequently in one part of an author's work than in the rest, is (if we know him to have used written sources) an indication that such peculiarities are more likely to be those of the source than of the author himself. An author may, however, to some extent adopt the peculiarities of his source, and use them occasionally in other parts of his work. Thus S. Luke might, when writing his Gospel, occasionally introduce a phrase common in T, such as the unemphatic 'and he' or 'it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb, even in portions drawn from S. Mark; while the absence of these expressions from Acts shows them to be in all probability peculiarities of T rather than of S. Luke. Much the same may be true of the expressions noted above. In any case the occasional occurrence of a word or phrase in the later part of Acts, which is common in the Gospel, does not prove it to be a peculiarity of the evangelist rather than of his source.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMPOSITION OF S. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

THE case of S. Matthew differs widely from that of S. Luke ; in the latter there is a large amount of narrative clearly derived from a source independent of S. Mark, especially in that part of the Gospel which deals with the passion. In S. Matthew, save for the insertion of a few additional incidents, it is in the narrative of the passion that S. Mark is followed most closely.

The non-Markan narrative contained in S. Matthew is of two kinds : (i.) incidents not recorded by S. Mark ; (ii.) variations in incidents that are recorded.

1. (a) The coming of Pharisees and Sadducees to John's baptism (iii. 7).
- (b) The unwillingness of John to baptize our Lord (iii. 14).
- (c) The healing of the centurion's servant (viii. 5-13).
- (d) The two men who wished to follow Christ (viii. 18-22):
- (e) The healing of two blind men (ix. 27-31).
- (f) The healing of the dumb demoniac (ix. 32-33).
- (g) The Baptist's message and Christ's reply (xi. 1-19).
- (h) The healing of the blind and dumb demoniac (xii. 22).
- (i) S. Peter walking on the water (xiv. 28-33).
- (j) The stater in the fish's mouth (xvii. 24-27).

- (*k*) The repentance of Judas (xxvii. 3-10).
- (*l*) Pilate's wife's dream (xxvii. 18-19).
- (*m*) Pilate washes his hands (xxvii. 24).
- (*n*) The resurrection of saints (xxvii. 52-53).
- (*o*) The watch set over the sepulchre (xxvii. 62-66).
- (*p*) The watch bribed by the priests to keep silence (xxviii. 11-15).

(The blessing pronounced on S. Peter (xvi. 17-19) can hardly be reckoned as a narrative passage.)

These passages amount to seventy-three verses in all. To three passages (*c*, *d*, *g*), which contain thirty-three verses, S. Luke has parallels: two (*f* and *h*) are probably variant versions of the same incident, and S. Luke must be regarded as presenting a parallel to one of them.

Neither the nature nor the extent of these passages suggests the use by S. Matthew of a second Gospel source other than S. Mark.

II. Of the variations found in Marcan narratives the most important are:—

- (*a*) That statement that Jesus 'dwelt at Capernaum' (iv. 13).
- (*b*) The substitution of 'Matthew' for 'Levi' (ix. 9).
- (*c*) The substitution of 'Gadarenes' for 'Gerasenes' (viii. 28).
- (*d*) The substitution of 'Art Thou come to torment us before the time' for 'I adjure Thee by God, do not torment us' (viii. 29).
- (*e*) The insertion of additional details in the account of the healing of the Syrophenician woman's daughter (xv. 23-25, 28).
- (*f*) The substitution of 'Magadan' for 'Dalmanutha' (xv. 39).

In none of these does S. Luke agree with S. Matthew ; (a) may merely be an inference from S. Mark, and the rest are not of such a kind as to imply the use of a continuous written source covering much of the same ground as S. Mark.

It is, then, to the discourse passages we must turn for traces of a second source.

It has been noticed that five groups of discourse matter in S. Matthew conclude in a similar manner :—

- (I.) vii. 28. At the close of the sermon on the mount :
‘ And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words, the multitudes were astonished at His teaching.’
- (II.) xi. 1. At the close of the charge to the disciples :
‘ And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished giving commands to His twelve disciples, He departed thence (μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν) to preach and teach in their cities.’
- (III.) xiii. 53. At the close of the sermon by the sea :
‘ And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence’ (μετῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν).
- (IV.) xix. 1. At the close of a discourse on forgiveness :
‘ And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these sayings, He departed (μετῆρεν) from Galilee.’
- (V.) xxvi. 1. At the close of a group of eschatological parables : ‘ And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these words, He said to His disciples.’

Two points in these passages strongly favour the view that the evangelist derived them from one of his sources : (1) the use of the construction ‘ It came to pass ’ followed by a finite verb, which is found nowhere else in S. Matthew

(cf. what has been said as to its use in S. Luke, p. 194); (2) the use of the word *μετῆρεν*, 'He departed,' which is found nowhere in the New Testament save in the two passages noted above. The only difficulty in the way of accepting the view that these passages are derived from a source is the way in which three of them (i., iv., v.) are linked to the Marcan matter which follows. These must be examined separately.

(i.) vii. 28-29. 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words, the multitudes *were astonished at His teaching, for He was teaching them as having authority, and not as their scribes*' (the words printed in italics are taken verbatim from S. Mark).

If this passage stood alone, the obvious explanation would be that the words 'It came to pass,' etc., were inserted by the evangelist to connect up his non-Markan with his Marcan matter. But as there is strong evidence in other passages that this is not the case, we must see if another explanation of the facts is not possible. The next incident, in S. Matthew viii. 1, is the healing of the leper, which is introduced by words not found in S. Mark, 'But as He was coming down from the mountain, many multitudes followed Him.' In S. Mark the healing of the leper is introduced abruptly, without any indication of where it occurred, and the point at which the miracle is placed in the order of events is different from that at which S. Mark and S. Luke place it.

We suggest, then, that S. Matthew did not find the words with which he seems to introduce the healing of the leper, so introducing it in his source, but that these words were really connected with formula which concludes the sermon on the mount. Thus, in the non-Markan source he would have read some such words as: 'And it came to

pass, when Jesus had finished these words, He went down from the mountain, and many multitudes followed Him.' And the arrangement which we find in his text arises from an ingenious dovetailing together of his two sources.

(iv.) xix. 1. Here, again, the words we are considering are followed by what appears to be Marcan matter. The two passages must be compared as wholes :—

S. MATTHEW XIX. 1-2.

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words he departed from Galilee, *and came into the coasts of Judaea, beyond Jordan*; and many multitudes followed him, and he healed them there.

S. MARK X. 1.

And arising thence he comes into the coasts of Judaea and beyond Jordan, and again multitudes come together to him and as he was wont again he taught them.

The suggestion we make is that in S. Matthew's second source the passage lacked the words in italics, which are almost certainly derived from S. Mark: this passage will then closely resemble No. 1., and the text of S. Matthew will again be the result of dovetailing together the two sources at the point at which S. Mark's narrative is about to be introduced.

(v.) xxvi. 1 also occurs at a point of junction with S. Mark.

S. MATTHEW XXVI. 1.

And when Jesus had finished all these words he said to his disciples, Ye know that *after two days is* (*γίγεται*) *the passover, and* the Son of man is being betrayed to be crucified.

S. MARK XIV. 1.

But it *was* (*ἦν*) *the passover* and the unleavened bread *after two days*.

Again we suggest that the original reading of S. Matthew's source can be restored by removing the words in italics, which are probably drawn from S. Mark.

In each of the three cases, then, in which there appeared to be a difficulty in supposing the formula, 'It came to pass, when,' etc., to be derived by the evangelist from his non-Marcan source, we see that on closer examination of the passages the difficulty disappears; so that the argument in favour of its being so derived, based on the occurrence of a grammatical construction and a word found nowhere else in the Gospel, save in these five passages, appears to be almost conclusive.

It may be said, then, that S. Matthew used a non-Marcan source, which contained sayings of Jesus arranged in five sections. We must next consider how far it is possible to discover the contents of these five sections. The document as a whole will be referred to as MQ (*i.e.* the form of the Q matter used by the first evangelist).

1. *The Sermon on the Mount*.—We have already seen (Chapter VI.) that, though there is a certain general resemblance between this and the sermon on the plain, the two discourses cannot have been derived directly from the same source. We have also seen that there are a certain number of passages common to S. Matthew and S. Luke in which the resemblances in wording are so close as to suggest direct use of a common source. Some of these occur in the sermon on the mount, viz. vi. 24, 25-33; vii. 3-5, 7-11; and perhaps vii. 12, but only four of these verses, those referred to in italics, occur in S. Luke in the sermon on the plain.

It seems probable, then, that the bulk of the sermon on the mount was derived by S. Matthew much as it stands from MQ, though there is no improbability in the supposition that the evangelist made some slight alterations in, and additions to, the matter drawn from his source.

The portions of the sermon which we should with most confidence attribute to MQ are :—

- (a) Eight beatitudes (v. 3-10).
- (b) The nature of the new law (v. 17 and 20).
- (c) Five contrasts between the old law and the new (‘ Ye have heard ’ . . . ‘ but I say ’) (v. 21-24, 27, 28, 31-48).
- (d) Precepts on three forms of ‘ righteousness ’—alms, prayer, fasting (vi. 1-6, 9-13, 16-18).
- (e) Conclusion (vii. 24-27).

These passages may perhaps have constituted the earliest form of the tradition of which the latest form is S. Matthew v., vi., vii. ; but it is probable that many of the sayings grouped together between vi. 19 and vii. 23 had already been added to the sermon in MQ ; and the same may also be true of the portions of v. and vi. 1-18, which appear likely not to have formed part of the sermon in its earliest form.

The view which to the present writer appears most probable is that the sermon, as it now stands in S. Matthew, is the result of a long process of accretion, but that this process was practically complete before it was embodied by our first evangelist in his Gospel.

II. *The Charge to the Disciples.*—The form which the concluding formula takes in xi. 1 (‘ When Jesus had finished giving these commandments to His twelve disciples ’) shows that the evangelist at any rate intended it to refer to the whole of the preceding discourse (x. 5-42). This raises certain difficulties, for parts of the charge have parallels in the other synoptists ; indeed, nearly the whole of it has parallels in S. Luke, but there they do not occur as a connected discourse, but are scattered about in various

parts of the Gospel. It seems incredible that if S. Luke had had this discourse before him as a connected whole, much as it stands in S. Matthew, he should have broken it up and scattered the fragments here and there about his Gospel; while it is at least as possible that S. Matthew should have found these sayings collected together in one of his sources, as that he should have himself fitted them together from a source, in which they were scattered as we find them in S. Luke.

The close parallels to S. Mark consist only of twelve verses, and these occur at three different points in his Gospel. To test the probability that S. Matthew relied here upon S. Mark as his sole source it will be necessary to make a close comparison of these seven verses.

S. MATTHEW X. 9-11, 14.

9. Do not get gold, nor silver, nor brass into your girdles,

10. No wallet for the way, nor two coats nor shoes nor stick, for the labourer is worthy of his hire.

S. MARK VI. 8-11.

8. That they should take nothing for the way, save a staff only, no bread, no wallet, no brass into your girdles. 9. But be shod with sandals, and do not put on two coats.

(The parallel in S. Luke ix. 3 runs: 'Take nothing for the way, neither staff nor scrip nor bread nor silver, and not to have two coats.')

11. And into whatever city or village ye enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and there remain until ye go forth. . . .

14. And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, coming out of that house or that city, shake off the dust (*κονιορτόν*) of your feet.

10. And he said to them, Wherever ye enter into a house, there remain until ye go forth thence.

11. And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they do not hear your words, proceeding out thence, shake off the dust (*χούνη*) that is under your feet for a witness to them.

(The parallel in S. Luke ix. 4-5 runs: 'And into whatever

house ye enter there remain and thence go out ; and however many do not receive you, coming out from that city, shake off from your feet the dust (*κοιλοπρόν*), for a witness upon them.)

We notice that several peculiarities of S. Mark's narrative are not here reproduced in either of the other Gospels, *e.g.* the injunctions to take a stick and be shod with sandals, also the word used for 'dust.' This, combined with the fact that S. Matthew places the mission of the Twelve in a different context from S. Mark, suggests that here he was using another source as well as S. Mark.

The next set of parallel verses is :—

S. MATTHEW X. 17-22.

17. But beware of men, for they shall hand you over to councils, and in their synagogues shall they scourge you.

18. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a witness to them and to the gentiles.

19. But when they hand you over, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak.

20. For it is not ye who speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaks in you.

21. But brother will hand over brother to death, and father child, and children shall rise up against parents, and put them to death.

22. And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name, but he that endureth to the end that one shall be saved.

S. MARK XIII. 9, 11-13.

9. Have a care of yourselves, they shall hand you over to councils, and in synagogues shall ye be beaten.

and ye shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a witness to them.

11. And when they bring you, handing you over, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak, but whatever is given you in that hour, speak that.

For it is not ye who speak but the holy spirit.

12. And brother will hand over brother to death, and father child, and children shall rise up against parents, and put them to death.

13. And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name, but he that endureth to the end that one shall be saved.

The resemblance here is very close, a great deal closer than

in the passage found in S. Matthew parallel to S. Mark xiii. 9-13.

There appear to be two possible explanations :—

(a) S. Matthew deliberately transferred these verses which he found in the eschatological discourse in S. Mark (xiii.) to the charge to the Twelve, and when he came to write the eschatological discourse in his own Gospel (S. Matthew xxiv.), replaced them by a kindred passage from another source, to avoid the repetition of exactly the same sayings.

(b) S. Matthew found these verses in the charge to the apostles in a non-Marcian source, and inserted them from it in his Gospel ; when he found them in S. Mark in the eschatological source, he replaced them by a kindred passage derived from another source. It should be noticed that the verses as they stand, with their references to kings and the Gentiles, are more appropriate in the place in which they occur in S. Mark than in the charge to the Twelve, especially as S. Matthew records that our Lord enjoined the disciples at that time not to go into the way of the Gentiles (S. Matthew x. 5).

On the whole, then, there seems to be a slight balance of probability in favour of the view that S. Matthew may have found these verses in another source, though the probability is only slight. The bearing of this passage on the question of the composition of S. Mark's Gospel has already been considered.

S. MATTHEW X. 38, 39.

38. And he who does not take his cross and follow behind me is not worthy of me ;

39. He who findeth his soul shall lose it, and he who hath lost his soul for my sake, shall find it.

S. MARK VIII. 34, 35.

34. If anyone wishes to come behind me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.

35. For whoever wishes to save his soul shall lose it ; and whoever shall lose his soul for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it.

Since in S. Matthew xvi. 24, 25 we find a passage more closely resembling S. Mark viii. 34, 35 in the same context, we may safely conclude that S. Matthew derived x. 38, 39 from some other source.

S. MATTHEW X. 40.

He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

S. MARK IX. 37.

Whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me but him that sent me.

Here the probabilities are about evenly balanced between the views (a) that S. Matthew transferred the saying from the discourse on receiving little children to the charge to the Twelve; and (b) that having found it in the charge to the Twelve in another source, he omitted it from the discourse on receiving little children.

S. MATTHEW X. 42.

For whoever shall give to drink one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you he shall in no wise lose his reward.

S. MARK IX. 41.

For whoever shall give you to drink a cup of water in a name, because ye are Christ's, verily I say unto you he shall in no wise lose his reward.

In each Gospel the context in which this verse occurs is fairly appropriate: it is lacking in S. Luke, who, however, has parallels to what immediately precedes and follows it in S. Mark. S. Matthew, on the other hand, lacks the passage which immediately precedes it in S. Mark. In the earlier half of the verse the two versions of it are by no means identical, so that it is not impossible that they may have a different origin.

Now, when we look at the twelve verses we have been considering, we see two possible explanations of the phenomena (if we assume the general dependence of S. Matthew on S. Mark):—

(a) That S. Matthew has collected into one discourse sayings recorded by S. Mark in several different ones.

(b) That one of S. Matthew's other sources gave these sayings in the same context as he does ; and regarded as a whole, the evidence rather favours this conclusion than the other.

If this conclusion be accepted, it will follow that we must suppose that among S. Matthew's sources was at least one which contained some of the sayings recorded in S. Mark ; whether, in that case, the close verbal resemblances of S. Matthew and S. Mark are all due to a similar resemblance between S. Mark and S. Matthew's source, or due to a reminiscence in places by S. Matthew of S. Mark's phraseology, even when he is using a non-Markan source, cannot be determined.

(III.) xiii. 53. In this instance, the concluding words are, ' It came to pass, when Jesus had finished these parables,' so that we are left in some doubt as to whether only the few short parables contained in verses 44-52 are intended, or the whole discourse which occupies verses 3-52. The question, as in the previous case, is complicated by the fact that part of the matter is paralleled in S. Mark iv., viz. the parable of the sower and its explanation, Christ's reason for speaking in parables, and the parable of the mustard seed. As in S. Mark, our Lord is represented as teaching from a boat, and the context of the discourse is the same, for in both Gospels it is the next event recorded after the coming of our Lord's mother and brethren.

That S. Matthew was partially dependent upon S. Mark in his record of this discourse seems to be beyond question ; that for much of it he drew upon another source is equally beyond question. The two points which need to be inquired into are :—

(1) Are there any reasons for supposing that S. Matthew's non-Marcan source may have contained parallels to the Marcan matter ?

(2) Are there any reasons which make it unlikely that the discourse as a whole may have been found by S. Matthew in a collection of Christ's discourses ?

The first of these two questions can only be answered by a comparison of the parts of the discourse common to S. Matthew and S. Mark.

(i.) *The Parable of the Sower*.—Not only are the two versions parallel thought for thought and sentence for sentence, but of the ninety words of which the parable consists in S. Matthew, no less than fifty-eight are identical with the words employed in S. Mark ; while practically all the variations which S. Matthew has are grammatical and stylistic changes of the simplest kind. The only one of any importance occurs in the last line of the parable : here S. Mark has, ' And bore up to thirtyfold, and sixtyfold, and a hundredfold,' while S. Matthew has, ' One a hundredfold, another sixtyfold, another thirtyfold.' S. Luke presents many striking variations from both the other synoptists ; in only one case does S. Matthew agree with him against S. Mark, and that is far too trivial a one to prove the use of a second source.

It seems, then, that there is no ground for supposing that S. Matthew had a second source for the parable of the sower.

(ii.) *The Reason for Speaking in Parables*.—Here, where S. Mark has, ' To you the mystery is given,' S. Matthew writes, ' To you is given to know the mysteries,' and S. Luke agrees with him, both in inserting the word ' to know ' and in using the plural.

This saying is one which, as has been shown, was possibly

derived by S. Mark from some early collection of Christ's sayings. It may therefore well have been current in more than one form; and the agreement of S. Matthew and S. Luke may well be due to the fact that they were both familiar with the saying in another form; but this would not imply that the whole passage in which it occurs was found by them in another source.

After this saying S. Matthew inserts the saying, 'To him that hath, it shall be given,' which is found at a later point in the discourse in S. Mark.

In both Gospels quotations follow from Deuteronomy and Isaiah, though those in S. Matthew are fuller.

(iii.) *The Explanation of the Parable of the Sower*.—Here S. Matthew again follows S. Mark fairly closely, though not quite as closely as in the parable itself. The nature of the changes which he makes does not, however, seem to require the use of another source for their explanation, but may all be set down as stylistic.

(iv.) *The Parable of the Mustard Seed*.—This parable is found in S. Luke in another context, where it is followed immediately by the parable of the leaven, which also comes immediately after it in S. Matthew. Further, there are several striking resemblances between S. Matthew and S. Luke, where both differ from S. Mark, which can easily be seen if the three versions are compared:

S. Mark iv. 30-32. 'How are we to liken the kingdom of God? or in what parable are we to put it? As to a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown upon the earth, being smaller than all the seeds which are upon the earth, and when it is sown, it springs up and becomes greater than all the vegetables, and makes great branches, so that under the shadow of it the birds of heaven can shelter.'

S. MATTHEW XIII. 31, 32.

S. LUKE XIII. 18, 19.

The kingdom of heaven *is like* to a grain of mustard seed, *which, having taken, a man sowed in his field, which is smaller than all seeds, but when it has increased it is greater than the vegetables, and becomes a tree so that the birds of the heaven come and shelter in its branches.*

To what is the kingdom of God like? and to what shall I liken it? *It is like to a grain of mustard seed, which, having taken, a man cast into his garden, and it increased and became a tree, and the birds of heaven sheltered in its branches.*

The italics indicate the agreements of S. Matthew and S. Luke where both vary from S. Mark. The use here by them of a second source is obvious. Indeed, S. Matthew's version looks like a combination of two versions, one preserved in S. Mark, the other in S. Luke.

The fact that S. Matthew in this parable seems to have combined two sources, renders it all the more probable that in the parable of the sower, where traces of such combination are absent, he used one source only.

The parables of the mustard seed and the leaven are in S. Matthew followed immediately by a statement that 'Jesus spake all these things in parables,' which is clearly drawn from S. Mark's conclusion of the discourse (iv. 33, 34).

We are now in a position to see the manner in which the discourse in S. Matthew is built up. The framework, the parable of the sower, and its explanation are wholly, and the passage giving Christ's reasons for speaking in parables and the parable of the mustard seed, partly, taken from S. Mark. The group of short sayings (S. Mark iv. 21-25), most of which S. Matthew has in some other part of his Gospel, are, with one exception, omitted, while the parable of the tares takes the place of that of the seed growing secretly.

Apart from the saying, 'Blessed are your eyes, for they see,' which has a parallel in another context in S. Luke,

the non-Marcian matter in this discourse in S. Matthew consists of parabolic teaching, viz. the parables of the tares, the mustard seed, the leaven, the hid treasure, the pearl of great price, the draw-net, the explanation of the parable of the tares, and the similitude of the householder who brings out things new and old.

All these may tentatively be ascribed to one source, MQ, and it is worth noting that, save the two short parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, none of it has any parallel in S. Luke.

(iv.) xix. 1. The passage here referred to would seem to be the whole of the sayings contained in Chapter xviii. The only portions which have a parallel in S. Mark are verses 1-9 (cf. S. Mark ix. 33-47), sayings on causing little ones to stumble: the parable of the lost sheep, verses 12-14; the saying, 'If thy brother sin against thee, go and show him his fault, verse 15; and S. Peter's question, 'Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me?' verse 21, have parallels in S. Luke, but in different contexts, and with wide variations of wording.

A possible explanation is that the bulk of verses 12-35 was derived from one source, and formed a discourse on forgiveness. If this be so, verse 14 presents a certain difficulty, for it seems to refer the parable of the lost sheep not to sinners but to little children ('Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish'). Perhaps these words may be the evangelist's own, intended to link the Marcian matter, which forms the earlier part of the chapter in which little children are held up as examples, with the non-Marcian matter that follows.

On the other hand, the 'little ones' here may mean those who are weak and young in faith, in which case the transition to what follows will be rather more abrupt. In

S. Luke xvii. 2, 3, the warning against giving offence and the injunction to forgive stand side by side, pointing, no doubt, to their connection in some ultimate source.

One noticeable point is the mention of S. Peter as asking a question (verse 21). There are several incidents connected with S. Peter which are peculiar to S. Matthew, viz. :—

S. Peter walking on the water (xiv. 28-31).

S. Peter's request to have a parable explained (xv. 15).

S. Peter's faith blessed (xvi. 17-19).

The coin in the fish's mouth (xvii. 24-27).

The question, How oft shall my brother sin against me ? (xviii. 21).

Now it is remarkable that all these passages fall between xiii. 53 and xix. 1 : that is to say, if we regard the central portion of S. Matthew as divided into five sections by the formula, ' It came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings,' all the peculiar passages relating to S. Peter fall into one section. This may, of course, be only a coincidence ; on the other hand, it may be an indication of the use of a source. The chief difficulty in the way of supposing it to be so is presented by the first case, that of S. Peter walking on the water, which as it stands can hardly be severed from the narrative of Christ walking on the water, which seems to be derived entirely from S. Mark. In the second case, S. Peter's words seem to be linked more closely to what precedes than to what follows, as will be seen if the passage be read as a whole :—

xv. 12-16. ' Then came the disciples, and said unto Him, Knowest Thou that the Pharisees were offended when they heard this saying ? But He answered and said, Every plant which My heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up. Let them alone : they are blind guides. And if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit. And Peter

answered and said, Declare unto us the parable. And He said, Are ye also even yet without understanding ? ’

The saying here mentioned as having given offence to the Pharisees is found also in S. Mark, in the same context, but with wide divergences of wording :—

S. MARK VII. 18, 20.

There is nothing from without a man entering into him, which is able to defile him ; but the things which come forth out of the man are the things which defile the man.

S. MATTHEW XV. 11.

Not that which goeth into the mouth defiles the man, but that which comes forth out of the mouth, that defiles the man.

The differences here are striking enough to suggest that, since this verse is found in close proximity with a non-Markan passage, it also was found in a non-Markan source. In this case, the mention of S. Peter's question in verse 15 will be due to the second source, and not to arbitrary alteration of the narrative of S. Mark by S. Matthew.

There seems, then, good reason to suppose that S. Matthew xv. 11-15 may be considered as based in part on a second source, perhaps drawn from it just as it stands.

The blessing pronounced on S. Peter's faith (xvi. 17) is closely linked with his confession that Jesus was the Christ. In S. Mark this is confined to the words, 'Thou art the Christ.' S. Matthew adds, 'The Son of the living God,' after which immediately follows Christ's blessing of S. Peter's faith. Here, again, it is possible that we have a dovetailing of two sources which partially coincide ; and it must be remembered that, if S. Matthew had before him two sources, it is in the highest degree probable that they would have some common matter, and that the points at which they coincided would serve as signposts to him, showing exactly where matter from the non-Markan could most appropriately be fitted into the Marcan matter.

The two remaining passages referring to S. Peter have no parallels in S. Mark, and are quite independent of him.

Now, if these five 'S. Peter' passages be added to the non-Marcian matter contained in Chapter xviii., it will be noticed that they comprise together nearly all the non-Marcian matter contained in S. Matthew between xiii. 53 and xix. 1. The other non-Marcian passages are as follows:—

xv. 22, 23, 28. Additions to the narrative of the Syro-phoenician woman.

xv. 29, 30. A general summary of Christ's works of healing.

xvi. 12. An explanation that the disciples understood Christ's warning against the leaven of the Pharisees.

xvii. 20. A saying about faith.

xviii. 3, 7. Two short sayings embedded in sayings paralleled in S. Mark.

Now, if the 'S. Peter' sayings may be regarded as due to one source, and that the same source as the teaching on forgiveness in Chapter xviii. is drawn from, we reach the conclusion that this section is almost entirely drawn from S. Mark and one other source, with very slight editorial additions, viz. xv. 22, 23, 28, 29, 30; xvi. 12.

We append a summary of the non-Marcian matter in this section:—

xiv. 29-31. S. Peter rebuked for lack of faith (S. Peter walking on the water).

xv. 12-15. Pharisees are blind guides.

xv. 24. 'I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'

xvi. 17-19. 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona,' etc.

xvii. 20. 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye should say to this mountain, Remove hence,' etc.

- xviii. 3. 'Except ye turn, and become as little children,'
etc.
- xviii. 7. 'Woe unto the world because of occasions of
stumbling,' etc.
- xviii. 10. A saying on 'little ones.'
- xviii. 12-14. Parable of the lost sheep.
- xviii. 15-35. Discourse on forgiveness.

Since, in the few passages to which S. Luke presents parallels, there are wide divergences both in wording and context, it is surely more probable that these passages were found by S. Matthew in the same source as his other non-Marcian matter than that he derived them from a third source used also by S. Luke.

(v.) xxvi. 1. In S. Matthew, Chapters xxiv., xxv. form one continuous discourse, therefore the formula used in this place, 'It came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these words,' will probably cover at least this, so that we may conjecturally assign to one source all the non-Marcian matter in these two chapters. To much of this S. Luke presents no parallel at all; and in those places where he has similar subject-matter, the context is widely different, though in wording there is in several cases fairly close resemblance (*e.g.* S. Matthew xxiv. 43-51).

The other non-Marcian matter between xix. 1 and xxvi. 1 consists of:—

The parable of the labourers in the vineyard (xx. 1-16).

The parable of the two sons (xxi. 28-32).

The parable of the marriage feast of the king's son (xxii. 1-14).

Discourse against the Pharisees (xxiii. 1-39).

It is only to portions of this last passage that S. Luke presents any parallels, and there they occur in two different

contexts, and present only a moderate amount of verbal agreement.

There is, then, no very serious difficulty in the way of the hypothesis that all the non-Marcan matter in this section was drawn by S. Matthew from a single source.

We may now review the matter as it affects the Gospel as a whole.

It appears that there is a considerable body of evidence in support of the view that besides S. Mark's Gospel, S. Matthew employed a document which gave collections of our Lord's sayings in five parts. This document, though mainly a collection of sayings, may have contained some brief pieces of narrative, *e.g.* S. Peter walking on the water, and the coin in the fish's mouth. In parts its resemblances to S. Luke are very close, but in the main the differences of wording and context are against the view that S. Matthew and S. Luke drew all their similar matter from one common source.

The first Gospel, then, like the third, appears to have resulted from the combination of two documents, one of which, S. Mark, was used by both editors.

The question remains, If the views stated in the last two chapters are correct, what was the relation of the second sources of S. Luke and S. Matthew to one another ?

This will be discussed in Chapter XI. For the present, all we would claim is, that the hypothesis that the kindred non-Marcan matter in S. Matthew and S. Luke was drawn directly by both evangelists from one source, Q, is not the only possible explanation of the facts, since reasons have been adduced for holding that the second sources of S. Matthew and S. Luke were not the same document ; not even two slightly varying recensions of the same document, but two distinct works, containing a certain amount of common matter.

CHAPTER X

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE INFANCY AND THE RESURRECTION

A PROBLEM that has been left for separate consideration is that of the birth and infancy narratives, contained in S. Matthew i., ii. and S. Luke i., ii. respectively.

The literary independence of the two accounts is manifest: not only does each contain a number of incidents not recorded by the other, but there are also certain discrepancies in the matter recorded by both, *e.g.* S. Matthew seems to regard Bethlehem as having been S. Joseph's home prior to his flight into Egypt, and his removal to Nazareth as due to fear of Archelaus; S. Luke places his home at Nazareth both before and after the birth of Christ. Again, S. Luke's narrative hardly seems to leave room for the insertion of such incidents as the massacre of the innocents and the flight into Egypt; for the most natural interpretation of S. Luke ii. 39, 'And when they had fulfilled all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to their own city Nazareth,' is, that the return to Nazareth took place immediately after the presentation in the Temple, *i.e.* about six weeks after the birth of our Lord.

Such discrepancies, whether real or apparent, while they do not invalidate the truth of the main facts recorded, do point to the independence of the two narratives; an independence so marked as to leave no reason for assuming

the existence of any common documentary source for the two accounts.

The question, then, which remains to be considered is, whether either of the evangelists had a written source for his narrative at all.

1. *S. Luke*. As in other parts of the Gospel, words and terms of expression are found which are either peculiar to the writings of S. Luke, or of more frequent occurrence in them than in the other synoptists, *e.g.* 'rising up, she went' (*ἀναστᾶσα—ἐπορεύθη*), i. 39 (cf. Acts viii. 26; xxii. 10); 'young child' (*βρέφος*), i. 41; 'lay up' (*συμβάλλειν*), ii. 19 (cf. Acts iv. 15; xx. 14). But it is unnecessary to multiply instances, for whether S. Luke here based his narrative on an early document or not, we should expect to find many traces of his style, as we do in the parts of his Gospel in which he used S. Mark.

What is of greater importance is that both the expressions, which in the other parts of the Gospel seem to be due to the non-Markan source rather than to the evangelist himself (see pages 193, 194) occur in Chapters i. and ii.: thus the unemphatic 'and he' is found in i. 17, 22; ii. 28, while the construction 'it came to pass,' followed by a finite verb, occurs in i. 8, 23, 41, 59; ii. 1, 6, 15, 46.

Another interesting point of contact between the first two chapters of S. Luke and other peculiar passages later in the Gospel has been pointed out by Dr. Sanday in a letter to the *Guardian* (13th October 1911).

References to Abraham as the *father* of the Jewish nation:—

- i. 55. 'As He spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to His seed for ever.'
- i. 73. 'The oath which He sware to Abraham our father.'

With these we may compare :—

xiii. 16. 'She being a daughter of Abraham.'

xix. 9. 'He also is a son of Abraham.'

There is, then, some reason for supposing that these chapters are, in part at any rate, based upon T; and if this be the case, it is probable that that document preserved the tradition current in Jerusalem as to the birth of Christ, just as it appears to preserve the tradition current in Jerusalem as to the appearances of the risen Lord. How far S. Luke may have enlarged or modified the infancy narrative he found in T, we have no means of deciding. All that can be said is, that the nucleus of S. Luke i. and ii. was probably present in T.

II. *S. Matthew.* Words and phrases distinctive of the evangelist's style, such as 'called' (λεγόμενος), used with a proper name; 'fulfilled,' referring to the fulfilment of prophecy; 'behold' (ἰδοὺ), after a genitive absolute; 'through the prophet' (διὰ), are all found in Chapters i. and ii. The expression 'in a dream' (κατ' ὄναρ), which occurs five times in these chapters, is found elsewhere in the New Testament in S. Matthew xxvii. 19 only, which is a passage peculiar to S. Matthew. This may possibly point to a community of origin for the various narrative passages peculiar to S. Matthew, but there is no sufficient evidence to show that either the first two chapters, or the other narratives peculiar to this Gospel, were derived from a written source.

If we were right in our conjecture that S. Luke has preserved the tradition current in Jerusalem as to our Lord's birth and resurrection, it is possible that S. Matthew has preserved the Galilean tradition, a supposition not inconsistent with the view held by many that the ultimate authority for S. Luke's account of Christ's birth is the

Virgin Mary, and for S. Matthew's account, S. Joseph. It should be remembered, however, that this view is in reality based merely upon the fact that S. Luke i. and ii. records incidents which only the Virgin Mary could have known, S. Matthew i. and ii. incidents which only S. Joseph could have known. That they are the ultimate authorities for these facts is, then, in reality, neither more nor less probable than that Pilate's wife was the ultimate authority for the account of her dream (S. Matthew xxvii. 19). In all three cases it is quite impossible to determine critically how many intermediaries there may have been between the evangelist and the ultimate authority for the fact he records.

In all such cases, the question 'On whose evidence does the occurrence of the fact recorded rest in the last resort?' really lies outside the sphere of inquiry into the literary origin of the document in which the fact is recorded.

The accounts of the appearances of the risen Lord have necessarily been left for separate consideration for two reasons: first, because the Gospel of S. Mark breaks off abruptly after the finding of the empty tomb by the women, with the words, 'for they feared . . .'; and secondly, because the accounts given in S. Matthew and S. Luke are entirely independent of one another. That the last twelve verses of S. Mark, as given in the ordinary texts, are spurious, is practically beyond dispute. Both the external and internal evidence is against their genuineness. They are lacking in the oldest Greek MS., B and κ ; they are lacking in the Sinaitic Syriac, and Eusebius states that they were not found in most of the MS. of his day. Their style differs from that of the rest of the Gospel, especially in the use of the words *πορεύεσθαι* (to 'go'), and *ἐκεῖνος*

(he) (without a substantive), which, though common in S. Luke, are nowhere found in S. Mark.

As they stand, they look like an excerpt from some lost gospel. Mr. F. C. Conybeare has found a note in an Armenian MS. of the tenth century ascribing them to the elder Ariston (*i.e.* probably the Elder Aristion, mentioned by Papias); and this attribution may well be correct.

The only points of similarity between these verses and S. Matthew are the command to baptize; the record of an appearance to the women, including Mary Magdalene, and of the fact that 'some doubted'; but between them and S. Luke there are striking resemblances.

The pseudo-Mark (as these twelve verses may be called) records three appearances of the risen Lord:—

- I. To Mary Magdalene;
- II. To 'two of them as they walked';
- III. To 'the eleven as they sat at meat,'

and the ascension.

S. Luke records the second and third of these; he also records an appearance to Simon, but only parenthetically. The ascension, if not actually recorded in S. Luke's Gospel, xxiv. 51 (for the words, 'And was carried up into heaven,' are of doubtful authenticity), is implied in the words, 'He parted from them,' and is certainly recorded in Acts i.

The narratives in S. Luke are more detailed, giving geographical details (*e.g.* Emmaus as the place whither the two were going, Bethany as the scene of Christ's final leave-taking from His disciples); but the presence of a common tradition is obvious. Further, both in S. Luke and pseudo-Mark, stress is laid on the doubt with which the accounts given by those who had seen the Lord were received.

- S. Mark xvi. 11. 'They did not believe.'
 „ xvi. 13. 'Neither did they believe them.'
 „ xvi. 14. 'He upbraided them for their unbelief.'
 S. Luke xxiv. 11. 'They did not believe them.'
 „ xxiv. 37. 'They thought they saw a spirit.'
 „ xxiv. 41. 'While yet they did not believe for joy.'

The chief difference between pseudo-Mark and S. Luke is, that while the former records an appearance to Mary Magdalene, the latter only records that the women saw two men (or angels) who told them Jesus was risen.

Another interesting resemblance between S. Luke and pseudo-Mark is found if our Lord's last charge to the disciples in the latter is compared with the account of the charge to the seventy in the former.

S. MARK XVI. 17-18.

In my name they shall cast out demons . . . they shall take up snakes, and if they drink any deadly draught it shall not hurt them.

S. LUKE X. 17-19.

The seventy returned with joy saying, Lord, the demons are subject to us in thy name. But he said to them . . . Lo, I have given you power to tread upon snakes and scorpions and every power of the enemy, and nothing shall injure you.

It seems probable, then, that S. Luke and pseudo-Mark derived their information ultimately from a common source, though whether S. Luke's is an expansion, or pseudo-Mark's an epitome of the original source, we have no means of deciding.

It is remarkable that S. Luke does not seem to have made use of the list of appearances given by S. Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. We append this list, noting the ones which appear to have parallels in S. Luke or pseudo-Mark :

1. Cephas (also S. Luke).
2. The Twelve (? also S. Luke and pseudo-Mark).
3. Five hundred brethren.
4. James.
5. All the apostles (? also S. Luke and pseudo-Mark).

Without doing violence to the Gospel narrative, it is impossible to identify more than two of these five appearances recorded by S. Paul with those recorded in S. Luke and pseudo-Mark.

It would seem, then, that for the outline, at any rate, of his account of the appearances of the risen Lord, S. Luke was dependent on one source, viz. that which is also reproduced in pseudo-Mark. We have already noticed that pseudo-Mark lacks geographical indications, though it is natural to suppose that he placed them in or near Jerusalem, for the appearance to Mary Magdalene must certainly, and that to the two 'going into the country' must probably, be placed there.

In S. Luke Jerusalem and its neighbourhood is definitely given as the scene of the appearances. The source on which he relied probably preserved the tradition current in Jerusalem, and the esteem in which he held it is shown by the fact that he altered the Marcan narrative so as to prevent it from disagreeing with his other source.

In S. Mark xvi. 7 the young man says to the women, 'Go, say to His disciples and to Peter that He goes before you into Galilee.'

In S. Luke xxiv. 6, 7 the angel says, 'Remember how He spake to you being yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be betrayed into the hands of sinners.' Now in S. Mark xiv. 28 we find Christ saying to His disciples, 'After I have been raised, I will go before you into Galilee,' but these words are not recorded in S. Luke.

The differences between the account of the visit of the women to the tomb in S. Luke xxiv. and that in S. Mark xvi. are so great as to suggest that here also S. Luke used a second source.

Thus it would seem that, for the whole of his narrative of the resurrection and subsequent events, S. Luke relied mainly on a non-Markan source; that this source had close affinities with pseudo-Mark, but also differences from it, for while the latter records an appearance to Mary Magdalene, S. Luke seems definitely to exclude it, as is shown by the words of one of the two disciples who went to Emmaus (xxiv. 22-24), 'Certain women of our company astonished us, being early at the tomb; and not finding His body, they came, saying that they had also seen a vision of angels, who said that He was alive . . . but Him they saw not.'

Thus it would seem that while S. Luke and pseudo-Mark represent the same tradition, and while there are undoubted literary affinities between them, their relation to one another cannot be shown to be very close or very direct.

Turning to S. Mark's Gospel, it may be said with certainty that it is incomplete, for not only is it obvious that the evangelist could not have intended to end with the words, 'for they feared,' but the prophecy of Jesus that after His resurrection He would go before His disciples into Galilee, and the words of the young man to the women recalling this prophecy, and adding, 'There shall ye see Him,' seem clearly to imply the writer's intention to give an account of at least one appearance of the risen Lord. It is of course possible that the writer's intention was frustrated by death or some other cause, but it is perhaps more probable that the conclusion of the Gospel was lost.

Whether its subject-matter, if it was ever written, has

been preserved elsewhere, we cannot tell. Since all the resurrection narratives in S. Luke are placed in or near Jerusalem, it is very unlikely that he has embodied the lost ending of S. Mark in his Gospel; probably he never saw it. Some are of opinion that the lost ending probably resembled the conclusion of S. Matthew; others that it was more akin to S. John xxi. Neither hypothesis can be either proved or disproved.

In favour of the former it may be urged—

i. That the bulk of the latter part of S. Matthew is derived from S. Mark.

ii. That an account of one meeting of the risen Lord with His disciples in Galilee (see S. Matthew xxviii. 16-20) is just what we should have expected the lost ending of S. Mark to contain.

Against this hypothesis it may be urged—

i. That if S. Matthew knew the lost ending, S. Luke must have known it too (but it must be borne in mind that we have no proof that S. Luke did not know it, for here, as in much of the latter part of his Gospel, he may merely have preferred his other source).

ii. That the presence of the Trinitarian formula of baptism in S. Matthew suggests that the passage was derived from a later source than S. Mark.

In favour of the view that the lost ending of S. Mark contained a narrative more akin to that of S. John xxi., is the fact that the apocryphal Gospel of S. Peter ¹ seems to have contained such a narrative, and that while the use of S. Mark by the writer of this document is practically certain, the use of S. John is not; while even if he used S. John, he did not in the fragment known to us employ any of the peculiarly Johannine details. The account of the finding

¹ See additional note, p. 289.

of the empty tomb is distinctively Marcan, and follows the second evangelist in several points where he differs from S. Luke.

The mention also of two disciples (Andrew and Levi), not referred to in S. John xxi., suggests that the writer of the apocryphal fragment was using some other source, as many think the lost ending of S. Mark.

The chief difficulty in the way of accepting this conclusion is that in that case the author of the fragment must have had a copy of the second Gospel which contained the ending, while the copy used by S. Matthew and S. Luke was probably imperfect.

In the present state of our knowledge, then, it is not possible to say what the conclusion of S. Mark, if it was ever written, contained.

With regard to the conclusion of S. Matthew, it may be said that possibly it was derived from S. Mark; and that if it was not, it may have reached the evangelist from the same source as that from which he derived some of his other peculiar narrative matter, such as the death of Judas and the setting of the watch over the sepulchre.

Regarding the synoptic narratives of the resurrection as a whole, it would seem as though S. Matthew (and probably S. Mark) had preserved the tradition current in Galilee, S. Luke and pseudo-Mark that current in Jerusalem. None of them seems to have attempted to combine the two traditions; none of them has recorded the appearance to James or to the 'five hundred brethren at once,' recorded by S. Paul (unless the latter be identified with the appearance recorded in S. Matthew xxviii.). We have seen above that there are reasons for supposing that S. Luke derived the matter contained in his last chapter from the same source as much of his other non-Markan matter (T), a

document with which we have no evidence that S. Matthew was acquainted: it is then impossible to say whether the author of the first Gospel was familiar with the tradition preserved in the third, or S. Luke with that given in S. Matthew. The verdict of purely literary criticism, which is the only one with which we are here concerned, is that for the appearances of the risen Lord, the sources of S. Matthew and S. Luke were wholly independent.

NOTE 1

The word 'to fear' (*φοβεῖσθαι*) can be used either transitively or intransitively, and is used in both ways by S. Mark, *e.g.* in v. 15 and 33, it is used intransitively; while in vi. 20 and xi. 18 it is used transitively. It is, however, most unusual for the word 'for' (*γάρ*) to stand at the end of a sentence; and nowhere else does it so stand in S. Mark. Professor Lake is probably right in his conjecture that the word is here used transitively, and the object which followed was 'the Jews,' 'the chief priests,' or some such expression. Shelley's 'Triumph of Life' ends with an unanswered question, 'Then what is life, I cried?' but it was not intended so to end. It remains possible that S. Mark's Gospel was left unfinished as the 'Triumph of Life' was, perhaps for the same reason—the sudden death of its author. The most that can be said with confidence is, that if we had the conclusion of S. Mark, it would almost certainly have been found to contain an account of an appearance in Galilee, and most probably would not have been found to contain an account of one in Jerusalem.

NOTE 2

The alternative ending of S. Mark.

In L and some other MS. the following conclusion is given to S. Mark's Gospel, 'but they announced all that had been told them to Peter and his companions; and after these things Jesus also Himself preached through them from the east to the west the holy and incorruptible preaching of eternal salvation,' though even those MSS. which contain it, in many cases add a scholion casting doubt upon the authenticity of the passage. Both on internal and external grounds it is clear that these words formed no part of the original Gospel. They are evidence, however, to the fact that from early times copyists felt that the Gospel as it stood was incomplete: they are also additional evidence against the authenticity of pseudo-Mark.

CHAPTER XI

THE PRE-CANONICAL STAGES OF THE GOSPEL TRADITION

IN the present chapter, the question which has to be considered is, on the assumption that S. Matthew and S. Luke used partially independent second sources, Can we go behind, then, and find any plausible explanation of their relation to one another ?

In the first place, if we take those passages in S. Luke which very closely resemble passages of S. Matthew in wording, we find that they can be removed from each Gospel without any serious disturbance of the narrative, and may therefore have been derived by the evangelists direct from Q, and not from T and the Matthaean collection of sayings respectively.

It will be convenient to give a table of these :—

SUBJECT.	S. LUKE.	S. MATTHEW.
1. Sayings of the Baptist, . . .	iii. 7-9, 16, 17	iii. 7-12
2. Temptation of Christ, . . .	iv. 2-13	iv. 2-11
3. Christ's sayings about John, .	vii. 18-35	xi. 2-19
4. The man who wished to follow Christ,	ix. 57-60	viii. 19-22
5. Perseverance in prayer, . . .	xi. 9-13	vii. 7-11
6. Charge against Jesus of deal- ings with Beelzebub, . . .	{ xi. 14-20 xi. 24-26	{ xii. 24-28 xii. 43-45
7. Seeking a sign,	xi. 29-32	xii. 39-42
8. Warnings,	xii. 2-9	x. 26-33
9. Against over-anxiety, . . .	xii. 22-31	vi. 25-33
10. Eschatological sayings, . .	xii. 39-46	xxiv. 43-51

On the other hand, the fewness of these passages, and the absence of agreement in order, rather favours the view that the evangelists found them already embodied in one of their larger sources.

The view commonly held by critics with regard to Q is, that it consisted mainly of sayings with little narrative matter, and was used by writers of Gospels, perhaps including S. Mark, as a quarry from which they hewed blocks of sayings and to insert in their narratives. This view would regard Q as a fixed quantity; the evidence, however, we believe, points to its having been a very variable one.

The only collection of our Lord's sayings which can be reconstructed with anything like probability is the document actually used by S. Matthew (MQ), and this only approximately. (For a brilliant attempt to do this see Archdeacon Allen's essay, 'The Book of Sayings used by the Editor of the First Gospel.'¹) But obviously such a document is not the immediate source of the sayings contained in S. Luke's source, T.

In Chapter IX. we saw that S. Matthew's second source contained some fragments of narrative, and this affords us a clue to what we believe to be the true solution of this most complicated problem; and it is this: that while the Gospel was in what might be called its pre-canonical stage, narrative gospels and collections of sayings reacted upon one another. This implies the existence of a whole lost literature. But that there should have been such a literature is not improbable; to its existence we have the testimony of S. Luke, as far as narratives are concerned; and any view that is held of the nature of the earliest collections of Christ's sayings, implies one or more lost documents. The two-document hypothesis of the origin

¹ *Studies in the Synoptic Problem.*

of the Gospels has done immense service to New Testament study, but, when pushed to extremes, it has tended to make us foreshorten the process by which the Canonical Gospels were developed.

That not one, but several different collections of sayings existed, is proved by the variant versions of what are obviously the same sayings preserved in the different Gospels (*e.g.* the saying about the strong man, the parable of the lost sheep, the parable of the mustard seed), while it is possible, though not certain, that Papias's statement that Matthew wrote the oracles in Hebrew, and each man interpreted them as he was able, may point in the same direction.

The earliest collections would probably be small ones, possibly at first in Aramaic. Such collections would be supplemented as time went on, both from traditional sources and from gospels, when they began to be written; also two or more collections might be combined. Thus it might well happen that of some sayings several Greek versions might be current; of others only one.

While it is beyond question that the evangelists made some alterations in the sayings they copied, the explanation of wide differences of wording as due to deliberate alteration is unsatisfactory. It is very noticeable that both S. Matthew and S. Luke allowed themselves far more liberty in altering the wording in the narrative portions of S. Mark than in altering the actual words of Christ (save where there is reason to suppose that they found the same saying in a variant form in another source). It is probable, then, that in this respect S. Matthew and S. Luke treated their other sources much as they did S. Mark, and that wide differences of wording *always* indicate difference of origin.

The explanation, then, of the varying degrees of agree-

ment and disagreement between S. Matthew and S. Luke in their record of Christ's sayings, seems to be, that where they agree closely the sayings had survived in one Greek form alone; where they differ considerably, the disagreement is due to the existence of several variant Greek forms of the same saying.

Another point which must not be forgotten is, that the earliest form of Gospel known to us (whether it be S. Mark as a whole or a shorter form of it, as it appears in the Marcan parts of S. Luke) was a narrative containing both incidents and sayings. To give only a few instances, we have:—

‘They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call righteous, but sinners.’

‘The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath.’

‘Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.’

Each of these is embedded in a narrative passage, and is preserved in practically the same form in all three Gospels. The probability is, therefore, that the ultimate written source of these sayings is a gospel, not a collection of discourses. We suggest then, that in the pre-canonical stage of the growth of the Gospel tradition, two processes were going on side by side:

I. The production of gospels (*i.e.* continuous narratives of what Jesus did and taught).

II. The collection of the sayings of Jesus.

Of the former S. Mark, in one form or another, was probably the prototype; of the latter, some collection of detached sayings such as we have seen (Chapter VII.) may have been used by S. Mark; each saying, or group of kindred sayings, being prefaced by some brief formula such as ‘Jesus said’

or 'and He said,' such as is actually found in the fragments of collections of sayings discovered at Oxyrynchus.

Writers of gospels would enrich their matter by selections from the sayings fitted into their narratives at the most appropriate places; collectors of the Lord's sayings would in turn detach notable sayings from gospels, in some cases being compelled to take a small portion of narrative also to make the sayings intelligible.

When a collection of sayings had reached considerable proportions, it was only natural that some editor should strive to arrange the matter systematically (as Nicole did the *Pensées* of Pascal).

There would be a constant tendency of later and larger works to supersede their sources, as S. Matthew and S. Luke eventually superseded all their sources except S. Mark.

Thus the process of gospel formation may be arranged in five steps:—

I. S. Mark: in which a certain number of sayings drawn from a small collection of sayings were worked into the narrative.

II. T: in which the same process was carried out on a larger scale, a fuller collection of sayings being used, and one in which some attempt at grouping had already been made.

III. MQ (S. Matthew's second source): in which all available sayings were grouped in five sections, some fragments of narrative having probably been introduced with sayings derived from gospels.

IV. S. Matthew: in which we have the fusion of a complete gospel with a complete collection of sayings.

V. S. Luke: in which we have the fusion of two gospels (S. Mark and T), in which a fusion similar to that found in S. Matthew had already been made.

To illustrate this theory, we will take, first, a saying which has been preserved in at least two independent forms, the parable of the mustard seed ; we will call the Marcan form A, and the non-Marcan B.

The ultimate source of A was one collection of sayings, in which this parable stood alone, or in which it was immediately preceded by that of the seed growing secretly ; the ultimate source of B another collection, in which it was immediately followed by the parable of the leaven.

A passed into S. Mark ; B passed both into T and MQ ; S. Luke omitted the parable where it stood in S. Mark, and inserted it with its fellow, the parable of the leaven, where it stood in T : S. Matthew inserted it in the same place as S. Mark, but combined the two forms known to him.

This view, then, provides an adequate explanation of all the complicated phenomena, and is based on no assumption that is *a priori* improbable.

Secondly, we will consider a saying which has survived in one form only, viz. that against over-anxiety about worldly possessions (S. Luke xii. 22-28 ; S. Matthew vi. 25-34). This presents such close similarities of wording in S. Matthew and S. Luke that ultimately it must have come from the same source. This we take to have been a collection of sayings from which it was derived directly by T and MQ : the former working it in at the most appropriate point in his narrative, the latter embodying it in a long discourse. If we may postulate in this and similar cases that the compilers both of gospels and collections of sayings copied the sayings of Jesus carefully, allowing themselves only to make slight stylistic changes and not to recast the wording as a whole, all the phenomena are again adequately explained.

On this hypothesis the most striking resemblances of

S. Matthew and S. Luke will be due to the use by T and MQ of the same or two closely similar collections, which contained, besides sayings, a small admixture of narrative matter. It is impossible to reconstruct this common ancestor of the first and third Gospels, but it probably contained all or most of the matter given in the table on page 248.

There remains the great crux of the healing of the centurion's servant.

The narrative portions differ considerably in S. Matthew and S. Luke; the words of Christ and of the centurion present close resemblances. In S. Luke the incident immediately follows the sermon on the plain; in S. Matthew only a few verses intervene between it and the sermon on the mount. It is therefore urged that the incident stood in Q in close proximity to the sermon, and that this coincidence in order supports the direct use of a common source by S. Matthew and S. Luke. Archdeacon Allen, (*S. Matthew*, p. 79) also suggests the influence of oral tradition, or the remembrance by S. Luke of S. Matthew's order as possible explanations. As an alternative we suggest the following explanation: the incident stood originally in T, whence it found its way into MQ, and thence into S. Matthew; its place in S. Matthew being due not necessarily to the fact that in MQ it stood next to the sermon on the mount, but to the fact that the incident took place at Capernaum; the incident which immediately follows it in S. Matthew (the healing of Simon's wife's mother) having also taken place at Capernaum. In this case its proximity to the sermon in both Gospels will be a coincidence, but since a reason for its place in S. Matthew other than that he placed it where his source did is forthcoming, it is not an improbable coincidence. If we look

carefully at S. Matthew's Gospel we shall see that, assuming he had no guide in his source as to when the incident occurred, there were really only two places at which he was at all likely to put it, *i.e.* where he does, in the group of incidents connected with Capernaum before Christ's journey into the country of the Gadarenes ; or in Chapter ix., in the group of incidents after His return ; for after that he records no incident connected with Capernaum until quite the end of the Galilean ministry.

The coincidence of order between S. Matthew and S. Luke in the case of the healing of the centurion's servant is not nearly as remarkable as it is often represented to be, and can be quite reasonably accounted for by other reasons than direct derivation from a common source.

The theories advanced in the present chapter are intended to be regarded as an alternative to the two-document hypothesis, as it is commonly stated.

Both hypotheses leave certain points untouched, *viz.* the origin of the infancy narratives, and the relation of the narrative matter peculiar to S. Matthew to the rest of the Gospel.

In view of the difficulties which the assumption that S. Matthew and S. Luke both drew directly from one common source, Q, leaves unsolved, this assumption cannot be regarded as satisfactorily established until alternative theories, which give some solution of these difficulties, have been refuted.

CHAPTER XII

THE SURVIVAL OF PRIMITIVE GOSPEL TRADITION IN EXTRA-CANONICAL WRITINGS

No survey of the synoptic problem would be complete which neglected to take into account the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Unfortunately the work itself is lost, and the references to it in the writings of the Fathers leave us in some doubt as to its exact nature. It is referred to by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and was translated into Greek and Latin by Jerome. Its original language appears to have been Aramaic. Jerome records that many were of opinion that this Gospel was the work of S. Matthew. This opinion may be due to the fact that it resembled the first of the Canonical Gospels more closely than it did the others: it may also merely be due to the fact that very ancient tradition credited S. Matthew with having written something in his native tongue. Epiphanius also quotes a gospel used by the Ebionites, which he says they called 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews.' There is, however, considerable doubt as to whether the work quoted by Epiphanius is the same as that translated by Jerome, so that for our purpose it will be best to treat them as separate works. Mr. E. B. Nicholson, who has written a monograph on the subject,¹ holds that the version known to Jerome was the primitive Nazarene version (*i.e.* the one used by the orthodox Jewish Christians); that known to

¹ To which I am greatly indebted in the present chapter.

Epiphanius a corrupt version of the same work used by Ebionites, and the facts, as far as they are known, seem to harmonise with his view.

First we must consider the fragments preserved by Jerome, and a few from other writers, which seem to come from the same source as Jerome's.

I. In commenting on S. Matthew ii. 5, Jerome says : ' In the Hebrew itself (*ipso Hebraico*) we read " Bethlehem Juda," whereas the canonical S. Matthew has " Bethlehem of Judaea." ' He also notes, ' Out of Egypt have I called my son,' and ' He shall be called a Nazarene,' as occurring in this Gospel. This seems to indicate that it contained a narrative of Christ's infancy akin to that of S. Matthew.

II. ' Behold the Lord's mother and His brethren said to Him, John Baptist is baptizing for remission of sins ; let us go and be baptized by him. But He said to them, What have I sinned that I should be baptized by him ? Unless indeed this very thing which I have said is ignorance.' This is without parallel in the Canonical Gospels, but may perhaps be connected in thought with the Baptist's hesitation to baptize Jesus, recorded only by S. Matthew iii. 14 (' He was preventing Him saying, I have need to be baptized of Thee '). On the other hand, the use of ' the Lord ' to describe Jesus in narrative is distinctively Lucan ; and the description of S. John's baptism as ' for remission of sins ' is absent from S. Matthew, though found in both the other synoptists (cf. S. Mark i. 4 ; S. Luke iii. 3).

III. ' But it came to pass, when the Lord had ascended out of the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon Him, and said to Him, My Son, in all the prophets I have been awaiting Thee, that Thou mightest come and I might rest in Thee. For Thou art My rest, Thou art My firstborn Son who reignest to eternity.'

This is clearly independent of the Canonical Gospels. As in S. Mark and S. Luke, the words from heaven are addressed to Jesus (in S. Matthew they appear to be addressed to S. John or the bystanders). Again, we have the Lucan use of 'the Lord.' The word 'firstborn' is applied to Jesus both in S. Matthew and S. Luke, but in a human sense as the firstborn of the Virgin Mary.

iv. In the margin of S. Matthew iv. 5, 'Then the devil taketh Him into the Holy City,' Codex A has 'the Jewish' (*Ἰουδαϊκόν*) has not "into the Holy City" but "in Jerusalem (*ιλην*)"; but this is the reading of S. Luke iv. 9. So that here the Gospel according to the Hebrews appears to support S. Luke against S. Matthew.

v. There is put among the greatest offences, 'He who shall have grieved the spirit of his brother.' The quotation is a loose one, and we have no clue as to the context in which it occurred.

vi. 'Never rejoice except when you have looked upon your brother in love.'

vii. In the Lord's prayer Jerome notes that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had the word 'Mahar,' which he renders 'crastinum' ('for the morrow'), where the Canonical Gospels both have 'daily' (*ἐπιούσιον*).

viii. 'I will choose Me the good, those whom My Father in the heavens hath given Me' (quoted by Eusebius). Here the phrase 'My Father in the heavens' suggests similarity with S. Matthew; but none of the synoptists have any parallel to the saying as a whole.

ix. 'I was a mason, seeking a living by my hands. I pray Thee, Jesus, that Thou wilt restore me my health that I may not basely beg my food.' Jerome quotes this in his comment on the healing of the man with the withered hand in S. Matthew, but as the miracle is recorded also in

S. Mark and S. Luke, no special kinship to S. Matthew is established.

x. 'I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' quoted by Origen. The words occur in S. Matthew only (xv. 24), in the account of the healing of the Syro-phœnician woman's daughter.

xi. In the margin of S. Matthew xvi. 17, Codex A gives 'Son of John' as the reading of 'the Jewish' (τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν). The words in S. Matthew are, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah.'

xii. 'If thy brother shall have sinned against thee in word, and shall have made satisfaction to thee seven times in a day, receive him. Simon His disciple said to Him, Seven times in a day? The Lord replied, and said to him, Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven; for in the prophets also after they have been anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found sinful speech (*sermo peccati*).'

The concluding words, 'For in the prophets,' etc., are found also in Codex A in the margin to S. Matthew xviii. 22. This seems to justify us in identifying the 'Jewish' quoted by Codex A with Jerome's Gospel according to the Hebrews.

The passage as a whole is akin to S. Matthew xviii. 21, 22 and S. Luke xvii. 3, 4, but is not identical with either.

Like S. Matthew, it makes S. Peter ask a question, and Jesus say, 'Until seventy times seven'; like S. Luke, it speaks of 'seven times *in a day*,' and orders the forgiveness conditionally, 'if he make satisfaction in word' (S. Luke 'if he repent'). Once more we notice the Lucan use of 'the Lord.'

xiii. 'The other of the rich men said to him, Master, doing what good thing shall I live? He said to him, Man, do the law and the prophets. He replied to Him, I have done. He said to him, Go, sell all that thou possessest, and

divide to the poor, and come follow Me. But he began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him, How sayest thou, I have done the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and lo, many of thy brothers, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing at all goes out of it to them? And He turned and said to Simon, His disciple, who was sitting by Him, Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than a rich man into the kingdom of the heavens.'

This is quoted by Origen in his commentary on S. Matthew xix., but exists only in a Latin translation.

The passage is a variant of one found in all the synoptists.

The use of ' Sons of Abraham ' is akin to a similar usage in S. Luke (xiii. 16 ; xix. 9), while the mention of people clad in filth, dying of hunger, recalls the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Again we have the Lucan use of ' the Lord.'

The mention of the saying addressed to Simon is perhaps akin to several special references to S. Peter in S. Matthew.

xiv. ' Osanna barrama ' is quoted by Jerome from this Gospel, which must apparently have contained an account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

xv. Zacharias, in S. Matthew xxiii. 35, is said to be ' son of Jehoiada ' instead of son of Barachias : S. Luke does not give the father's name. Since, however, the reading of the Gospel according to the Hebrews brings the passage into harmony with 2 Chron. xxiv. 20-22, it may be a later emendation, not a primitive reading.

xvi. Eusebius refers to a passage (but does not quote it verbally) clearly akin to the parable of the talents ; his words are : ' The threat not against him who hid, but against him who lived riotously. For it told of three servants, one

who devoured the substance with harlots and flute-girls, one who made manifold profit, one who hid the talent. Then the one was received, the one only blamed, and one shut up in prison.'

Here we notice affinities both to S. Matthew's parable of the talents and S. Luke's parable of the pounds.

Like S. Matthew, it makes the sum entrusted a talent; like S. Luke, it apparently makes the sum in each case equal, but this is not certain. Two phrases recall the parable of the prodigal son, *e.g.* 'lived riotously,' 'consumed the substance with harlots.'

xvii. The margin of Codex Λ to S. Matthew xxvi. 74 says that 'the Jewish' gave 'He denied and swore and cursed.'

xviii. Jerome states that the Gospel according to the Hebrews interpreted Barabbas as 'Son of the Master.'

xix. Jerome twice states that this Gospel said that at the time of Christ's death 'the lintel,' not the veil of the Temple, was rent; thus differing from all three synoptists.

xx. 'But when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, He went to James, and appeared to him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from the hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he saw Him rising from them that sleep. . . . Bring, saith the Lord, a table and bread. He took the bread, and blessed and brake it, and afterwards gave to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, because the Son of Man has arisen from them that sleep.'

The passage is not quite continuous. For the appearance to James cf. 1 Cor. xv. 7.

The mention of the high priest's servant seems to suggest that some one was watching the tomb (cf. S. Matthew xxvii. 66, 'Setting a watch').

XXI. 'Lately my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of the hairs of my head and carried me up to the great mountain, Tabor,' quoted by Origen. This should be compared with No. II., in which the Holy Spirit calls Christ 'My firstborn'; in Aramaic the word for 'spirit' is feminine.

XXII. 'He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest,' quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

These fragments, few and scanty though they be, are sufficient to indicate that the Gospel according to the Hebrews contained some matter recorded by the synoptists, and other matter which is not. That its peculiar matter consisted both of narratives and sayings; and that it presented points of similarity both to S. Matthew and S. Luke.

They do not support the ancient view that it resembled S. Matthew more closely than it did the other synoptists, for, as we have noticed, they present quite as many Lucan as they do Matthaean characteristics, and in three cases they agree definitely with S. Luke *against* S. Matthew. The evidence is not in favour of the view that this Gospel was derived from our Canonical Gospels, nor that either of them was derived from it.

The most probable hypothesis is, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews is based upon sources similar to those on which S. Matthew and S. Luke are based, and that it diverged from the main stream of synoptic tradition prior to the formation of the Canonical Gospels.

The variant form of the parable of the talents, found in it, is particularly interesting, for it probably gives us a third form in which one and the same parable has been preserved. It is of course possible that the three parables may all be originally distinct, and may have been spoken by

Christ on different occasions, though to the present writer this hypothesis seems less probable than that they are varying traditions of one parable. But in either case they show that there were several independent traditions of the sayings of Christ, in which case the variations found in similar sayings in the Canonical Gospels is due to the fact that different primitive traditions were drawn upon, and not to careless copying or capricious alteration of one primitive tradition.

As far as it goes, then, the evidence of the fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews supports the view of the relations of S. Matthew and S. Luke set forth in Chapter XI.

In the next place, we must consider the fragments preserved by Epiphanius, which seem to be taken from an Ebionite gospel; of this work our knowledge is very scanty, but it seems not unlikely that it was a corrupt form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In spite of the fact that it represented itself as the work of the apostle Matthew, for in one of the extracts we find, 'I choose John and James . . . and thee, Matthew,' it has affinities with S. Luke.

I. It speaks of Jesus being 'about thirty years old.'

II. It speaks of the Holy Spirit at Christ's baptism coming down 'in the form (*ἐν εἶδει*) of a dove'; while S. Matthew has 'as a dove' (*ὡσεὶ*).

III. It records the word from heaven at Christ's baptism, 'To-day have I begotten Thee,' which is found in some MSS. of S. Luke (cf. pp. 213, 214).

IV. It records a saying, 'Have I not greatly desired to eat flesh, this passover, with you?' which very closely resembles S. Luke xxii. 15.

The most that can be said of this document is, that as far as we know it, it presents characteristics similar to

those of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, having marked affinities with S. Luke as well as S. Matthew.

If, then, it was a corrupt form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it would seem to confirm the view that that Gospel was formed out of material similar to that from which S. Matthew and S. Luke were formed.

Its support of the saying, 'This day have I begotten Thee,' at the baptism, is remarkable; and if our view of its origin and of that of the Gospel according to the Hebrews be correct, it tends to support the conjecture that this saying occurred in S. Luke's source.

In the next place, the Gospel quotations found in the Apostolic Fathers must be considered.¹

Numerous instances are found which look like quotations from the Synoptic Gospels, but in only a few cases is the resemblance really close; these are nearly all passages in the letters of Ignatius, which seem to be allusions to S. Matthew's Gospel. The most striking of these are:—

I. Two references to Christians as 'a plant of the Father.' Cf. S. Matthew xv. 13: 'Every plant, which My heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.'

II. 'Being baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him.' Cf. S. Matthew iii. 15: 'For so it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.'

III. 'He that receives it let him receive it.' Cf. S. Matthew xix. 12: 'He that is able to receive it let him receive it.'

IV. 'Be wise as a serpent in all things, and ever harmless as a dove.' Cf. S. Matthew x. 16: 'Be then wise as serpents and harmless as doves.'

V. 'For if the prayer of two (lit. "one and a second")

¹ See *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*.

has so great power.' Cf. S. Matthew xviii. 19 : ' If two of you agree upon earth as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them.'

VI. ' For every one whom the householder sends to his own household, so ought we to receive him as Him that sent him.' Cf. S. Matthew x. 40 : ' He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me,' though the words meaning ' send ' are different.

VII. ' Bear the diseases of all as a perfect athlete.' Cf. S. Matthew viii. 17 : ' He bore our diseases.'

In most other cases, the apparent references to the Gospels in the Apostolic Fathers present far less marked verbal resemblances. This will be seen if certain passages of 1 Clement of Rome and Polycarp, which resemble parts of the sermon on the mount, are compared with the sayings most like them in S. Matthew and S. Luke.

1 CLEMENT OF ROME XIII. 1, etc.

Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching kindliness and long-suffering.

I. *Be pitiful that ye may be pitied.*

II. *Forgive that it may be forgiven to you.*

III. *As ye do so shall it be done to you.*

IV. *As ye give so shall it be given to you.*

V. *As ye judge so shall ye be judged.*

VI. *As ye show kindness so shall kindness be shown to you.*

VII. With what measure ye mete in it it shall be measured to you.

POLYCARP II. 3.

Remembering what things the Lord said teaching,

Judge not that ye be not judged.

Forgive and it shall be forgiven to you.

Be pitiful that ye may be pitied.

With what measure ye mete it shall be re-measured to you.

The passages printed in italics have no exact parallels in the Gospels, for in No. II. the word for 'forgive,' both in Clement and Polycarp, is ἀφίετε, while in S. Luke vi. 37 it is ἀπολύετε; and in No. v., though Polycarp has the same wording as S. Matthew vii. 1, Clement is different.

Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* ii. 18) reproduces the wording of Clement of Rome, except in No. VII., in which he agrees with the variation of Polycarp.

No. II. is found in the *Didascalia* and in *Macarius Aegyptus*.

If we account for the variations of Clement of Rome from the Synoptic Gospels as due to mere looseness of quotation, it is hard to account for the exactness with which Clement's wording is reproduced in other writers. The suggestion that Clement himself was quoting exactly, not from the Canonical Gospels, but from some collection of Christ's sayings similar to, but not identical with, S. Matthew's second source, seems to offer a better solution. This hypothesis is supported by the words with which Clement introduces his quotation, which closely resemble those with which the saying, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive,' are introduced in Acts xx. 35, 'to remember the words of the Lord Jesus.'

Similar words, 'Remember the words of Jesus, our Lord,' introduce another notable quotation in Clement of Rome (xlvi. 7, 8).

'Woe to that man, good were it for him if he had not been born, than to cause one of the elect to stumble; better would it have been for him that a millstone should have been placed about him, and that he should have been drowned in the sea, than to cause one of these little ones to stumble.'

Here the opening words are all found in S. Mark xiv. 21;

the remainder is similar to Christ's warning against causing little ones to stumble, but is not an exact reproduction of any one of the three evangelists, as will be seen if the three passages are compared.

S. Matthew xviii. 6 :—

‘ Whosoever shall *cause one of these little ones* who believe in Me to *stumble*, it is profitable for him that a *millstone* turned by an ass should be hanged *about* his neck, and that *he should be drowned* in the depth of the sea . . . however, *woe to that man* through whom the cause of stumbling comes.’

S. Mark ix. 42 :—

‘ And whosoever shall *cause one of these little ones* who believe on Me to *stumble*, good is it for him rather if a *millstone* turned by an ass encircles about his neck, and he is cast *into the sea*.’

S. Luke xvii. 1, 2 :—

‘ It is inevitable that causes of stumbling should come ; however, woe to him through whom it comes. It is advantageous for him if a millstone encircles about his neck, and he is cast *into the sea*, than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.’

The italics indicate the words to which Clement exhibits the closest resemblance.

Here Clement may be quoting from memory, and inaccurately combining two distinct passages ; but it is equally probable that he may be quoting accurately from some source other than the Canonical Gospels.

The Gospel quotations in the Apostolic Fathers, especially those in Clement of Rome, seem to point to the probability that the writers often, if not always, were quoting from some extra-canonical record : and if this be so, one or more collections of the sayings of Christ must have remained current alongside of the Gospels.

Now, if this be a correct explanation of the fact that these quotations show marked divergences from the Synoptic Gospels, it follows that the sayings of Jesus were preserved in a larger number of forms than those included in the Gospels. This would support the hypothesis which we suggested on p. 250, that, prior to the formation of the Canonical Gospels, a number of different collections of Christ's sayings existed, and were subject to a gradual process of accretion and arrangement. Thus the process, which ended in the production of the Synoptic Gospels, would be more intricate, and the literature out of which they are formed more extensive, than is at present generally held.

Too much stress must not be laid on the variations found in the Gospel quotations in the Apostolic Fathers, but they do form part of the evidence which must be taken into account in forming any adequate theory of the formation of the Gospels, for the resemblances existing between certain apparent quotations in Clement of Rome, Polycarp (and Clement of Alexandria, though he is of later date), in points where they differ from the Canonical Gospels, forbid us to explain all the variations offhand as due simply to loose quotation from memory. To put the matter in a slightly different way, it may be said :—

I. The variations in the Gospels themselves between similar sayings prove the existence of more than one tradition.

II. That the sources from which the Gospels were drawn should have remained in use after the composition of the Gospels is quite probable.

III. There is, then, nothing *a priori* improbable in the assumption that writers of the early second century should have quoted from these sources rather than the Gospels.

NOTE 1 .

WAS THERE A PRIMITIVE ARAMAIC GOSPEL?

Though the language in which the Gospel has been handed down to us is Greek, it is practically certain that the earliest preachers of the Gospel were Aramaic-speaking men; for in those places in the New Testament in which the 'Hebrew tongue' is referred to, it is really Aramaic which is intended, as is clear from S. John xx. 16, where it is said that Mary 'said to him in the Hebrew,' though the actual word she uses is the Aramaic 'Rabboni.'

There is, then, no antecedent improbability in the earliest written gospel having been in Aramaic. The only direct evidence which we possess in support of this being so is the statement of Papias that 'Matthew wrote the oracles of the Lord in Hebrew' (*i.e.* Aramaic). As we have seen, the exact meaning of his words is doubtful, but at the least they show that Aramaic was used for literary purposes among Christians of the Apostolic period, when the Gospels were taking shape.

The existence of the Gospel according to the Hebrews is to some extent evidence in favour of the view that an early Aramaic gospel existed. As has already been shown, the extant fragments of that gospel exhibit affinities both to S. Matthew and S. Luke: and these affinities might be explained by the hypothesis that our evangelists used sources which were Greek translations of the Aramaic sources of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This is of course only a conjecture, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews may itself have been based on Greek sources, perhaps even on our Canonical Gospels.

When we turn to the Gospels themselves the evidence is again inconclusive. It is true that numerous 'Aramaisms' may be found, especially in S. Mark, but these may just as easily be explained by the fact that S. Mark was a bilingual man writing in the language that was not his native language, as by the supposition that an Aramaic original lies behind the Greek S. Mark. In fact it would be strange if a Greek work written by an Aramaic-speaking man did not exhibit a number of Aramaisms; just as an English book written by a Frenchman at the present day usually bristles with Gallicisms.

Nor is the presence of certain Aramaic words transliterated in S. Mark proof that he used an Aramaic-written source; it only proves that the writer was acquainted with the actual Aramaic words used by Jesus on certain occasions (*e.g.* Talitha Cumi: Ephphatha: Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani). Attempts have been made to show that variants in passages common to S. Matthew and S. Luke are the

result of different translations of a common Aramaic original, but I agree with Archdeacon Allen that they do not seem 'either singly or collectively to be at all convincing.'

It must then be left an open question whether there was, or was not, a primitive Aramaic gospel; its existence cannot, from the evidence at our disposal, be either proved or disproved. As far as we are able to judge, the written sources, which lie immediately behind our Canonical Gospels, were all Greek, so that Aramaic documents, if such ever existed, have had little direct effect on the composition of the Gospels.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SYNOPTISTS AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE relation of the fourth Gospel to the other three need only be considered here so far as it affects the synoptic problem. That its author was acquainted with one or more of the synoptists is not improbable, though the points of resemblance are in most cases too slight to prove any direct literary relation. A few instances of rather striking verbal resemblances may be given.

1. *S. John* v. 8. Jesus, addressing the man at the pool of Bethesda, says, '*Arise, take up thy bed and walk.*'
S. Mark ii. 11. Jesus, addressing the paralytic, says, '*Arise, take up thy bed and go to thy house.*'
2. *S. John* xii. 44. 'He that believeth on Me believeth not on Me, but on Him that sent Me.'
S. Mark ix. 37. 'Whoever receiveth Me receiveth not Me, but Him that sent Me.'
3. *S. John* xviii. 10. 'Simon Peter, then, having a sword, drew it, and struck the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear.'
S. Mark xiv. 47. 'But one of those who stood by, having pulled out the sword, struck the high priest's servant, and removed his ear.'

In these and a number of similar cases the resemblances of *S. John* to *S. Mark* are closer than to *S. Matthew*; and I have not been able to discover any cases of close resem-

blance between S. John and passages peculiar to the first Gospel.

There seems, then, to be good reason for supposing that the author of the fourth Gospel knew S. Mark.

With regard to S. Luke, the likenesses between his Gospel and S. John's are more striking, and the only question which arises is, Did S. John know S. Luke or one of his sources ?

These resemblances are not confined merely to verbal similarities, but include certain facts and details in regard to which S. Luke differs from S. Matthew and S. Mark ; the most important being that S. Luke and S. John both place several appearances of the risen Lord at Jerusalem ; while, except for the meeting of Christ with the women as they returned from the empty tomb (S. Matthew xxviii. 9, 10), S. Matthew and S. Mark seem to have regarded Galilee as the scene of these appearances.

Other points in which S. Luke agrees with S. John are : the mention of Annas as high priest (S. Luke iii. 2) ; the statement that it was the *right* ear of the high priest's servant which was cut off (xxii. 50) ; an account of a miraculous draught of fishes (v. 1-11) ; the naming of a second Judas among the twelve apostles (vi. 16) ; in laying emphasis on the fact that no one had yet lain in the tomb where Jesus was buried (xxiii. 53).

There are also the two passages in S. Luke xxiv. (12 and 36^b) which so closely resemble parallel passages in S. John that some critics regard them as interpolations in S. Luke (see pp. 211, 212). To these may be added S. Luke xxiv. 40 : ' And having said this, He showed to them His hands and feet,' which some critics regard as spurious, though it has strong MS. support. The thought is to some extent parallel in S. John xx. 27 : ' Then saith He to Thomas,

Reach hither thy finger and behold My hands, and reach hither thy hand and put it into My side.'

The evidence seems sufficient to prove that S. John must at any rate have known S. Luke's non-Marcan source, if he did not know S. Luke's Gospel as a whole.

There is one passage which has been reserved for separate treatment, viz. the anointing of Jesus (S. John xii. 2-8); it presents remarkable difficulties, because it contains points of agreement both with the Marcan and the Lucan accounts, while it contains details not derived from either.

Like S. Mark, S. John places it at Bethany shortly before the passion, but not quite at the same point in the narrative; like S. Mark, he records the murmuring caused by the waste of the ointment, the suggestion that it should have been sold and the proceeds given to the poor, and Christ's rebuke of the murmurers; like S. Mark, he gives no hint that the woman was a sinner.

Like S. Luke, he records that the woman anointed Christ's feet (S. Mark says 'His head'), and wiped them with her hairs.

On the other hand, S. Mark and S. Luke both record that the owner of the house was called Simon; S. John seems to imply that the incident happened in Martha's house.

S. MARK XIV. 3-8.

S. LUKE VII. 37-38.

S. JOHN XII. 2-8.

And being in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he reclined there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment, *pistic nard very precious*. Breaking the alabaster box, she poured it on his head. But there were some

And behold a woman who was in the city a sinner, and knowing that he reclined in the Pharisee's house brought an alabaster box of ointment, and standing behind by his feet weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and

Then they made a feast there and Martha served, but Lazarus was one of those that reclined with him. Mary then having taken a pound of ointment *pistic nard very costly*, anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped his feet with her hairs;

indignant among themselves [saying], Wherefore has there been this waste of the ointment? for this ointment could have been sold for above 300 denarii and given to the poor. And they murmured against her. But Jesus said, *Let her alone.* Why do ye trouble her? for always ye have the poor with you. And when ye wish ye can always do them good, but me ye have not always. She hath done what she could, she hath anointed my body beforehand for the burying.

wiped them with the hairs of her head, and she kissed his feet and anointed them with the ointment.

and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment. But Judas Iscariot, one of his disciples, who was about to betray him, said, Why was not this ointment sold for 300 denarii and given to the poor? and this he said not because he cared for the poor but because he was a thief, and having the bag, carried what was put in it. Then said Jesus, *Let her alone* that she may keep it for the day of my burying. For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always.

The points of resemblance here are sufficient to suggest that S. John not only knew the Marcan and Lucan accounts, but used them in the compilation of this passage. If this be so, it is possible that the indebtedness of the author of the fourth Gospel to the synoptists in the narrative parts of his Gospel may be greater than is generally supposed. If the similarities to S. Luke, which we have already noticed, are due to the use by S. John, not of the Gospel of S. Luke but of its non-Markan source, T, it is again possible that some incidents may have been preserved in S. John which stood in T, but were omitted by S. Luke, *e.g.* the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee (S. John ii. 1-12, with which we may compare the saying found in S. Luke v. 39: 'No one having drunk old wine wishes for new, for he says, The old is good'); Christ's conversation with the woman of

Samaria (S. John iv. 1-26, with which we may compare S. Luke ix. 52, where we read that Jesus 'sent messengers before His face, and they went and entered into a village of the Samaritans to make ready for Him').

The evidence, however, is not sufficient to suggest more than a bare possibility; and the problems raised belong rather to the criticism of the fourth Gospel than to that of the synoptists, as in any case the use made by S. John of synoptic matter is sparing, and its chief interest in connection with the synoptic problem is, that while it seems clear that the author of the fourth Gospel knew S. Mark and S. Luke's non-Marcian source, there is no evidence that he knew Q as commonly reconstructed by the critics.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DATE OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

THE process by which the Synoptic Gospels were formed, and the date at which that process was completed, are really two distinct matters. The conclusions arrived at in each case are of necessity based upon inferences and probabilities, so that the views which we form with regard to the one matter inevitably affect our attitude towards the evidence available for deciding the other. Thus, if we are of opinion that all the Synoptic Gospels were written before 70 A.D., we shall tend to discount the indications which appear to show the probability that a considerable Gospel literature, now lost, once existed ; and that the process by which our Canonical Gospels were formed was a long and slow one. If, on the other hand, the evidence convinces us that the Gospels are the culmination of a long process of growth and selection, we shall very closely scrutinise arguments alleged in favour of an early date for their publication, and be inclined to reject any inferences pointing in that direction which seem at all open to criticism.

The earliest piece of definite external evidence as to the date of the Gospels is the statement of Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, iii. 1), which is worth quoting in full : ‘ Matthew, indeed, among the Hebrews, in their own language published a Gospel scripture (γραφὴν . . . εὐαγγελίου), while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel in Rome and founding the Church. After the departure (ἔξοδον) of these, Mark,

the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he also having written the things preached by Peter, handed them down to us. And Luke, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the things preached by him. Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined upon His bosom, he also issued the Gospel, while he was sojourning in Ephesus of Asia.'

The meaning of Irenaeus is clear. The Gospel, he holds, was not committed to writing until the time when S. Peter and S. Paul were preaching in Rome; the first written Gospel was the Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew, and the others followed in the order in which he mentions them.

The value of Irenaeus's evidence is far less clear. How far he is recording a genuine tradition, and how far he is merely giving his own inferences, we have no means of deciding; and even if he is recording a tradition, it may be in many respects an inaccurate one.

The statement regarding S. Matthew looks like a mere inference from the tradition recorded by Papias (p. 3); those regarding S. Luke and S. John may either be most valuable and genuine traditions or mere guesses, and the tantalising fact is that we possess no criterion by which to test them save our opinion of Irenaeus's intelligence and trustworthiness. With regard to S. Mark, the case is rather different; it possesses a certain trait of authentic tradition which the other statements lack; it connects S. Peter only indirectly with the second Gospel. The statement that S. Mark wrote 'after the departure' of S. Peter and S. Paul, has the look of a piece of genuine tradition. The tendency of guesswork would surely have been to connect S. Peter more closely with the writing of the Gospel. Clement of Alexandria, who preserves a somewhat similar tradition, makes the Gospel written in the lifetime of S. Peter, but adds that he neither 'forbade nor encouraged'

the project. This tradition is not really inconsistent with that preserved by Irenaeus, for the latter, when he speaks of 'the departure' of S. Peter, may mean his departure from Rome, not his death.

We conclude, then, that the earliest and most trustworthy tradition we possess places the publication of S. Mark's Gospel somewhere about 65 A.D., possibly later, but certainly not much earlier.

Since S. Matthew and S. Luke both made use of S. Mark's Gospel in the composition of their own, they must have published their Gospels at a somewhat later date.

As far as S. Matthew is concerned, we have little evidence to go upon. If we are right in thinking that Ignatius knew and quoted the first Gospel, it must have been published in all probability before the end of the first century A.D., for though the date of the martyrdom of Ignatius is not certain, it probably took place early in the second century.

It is urged by some that the manner in which the return of the Son of Man in glory is connected in S. Matthew's Gospel with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., is explicable only on the supposition that the Gospel was written before, or not many years after, that date.¹

To the present writer this argument appears too subjective, especially when it is borne in mind that the first Gospel is a composite work based on written sources; to him it seems by no means impossible to suppose that an evangelist compiling a gospel, even as late as 90-100 A.D., should have preserved such sayings as 'Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened,' etc. (S. Matthew xxiv. 29), or 'This generation shall not pass away until all these things come to pass' (S. Matthew xxiv. 34), *if he found them in one of his sources*. To have

¹ See Allen's *S. Matthew*, pp. lxxxiv, lxxxv.

omitted them would have been to admit to himself that Christ's prophecy had not been fulfilled ; to insert them would imply his belief that Christ's prophecy would still be fulfilled, though not exactly as men had hoped and expected. If the men for whom the evangelist wrote were familiar with the source from which the sayings were drawn, it would have been hard indeed for him to omit them.

The subjective argument based on these eschatological sayings in favour of the early date of S. Matthew seems, then, to be unconvincing ; and we must for the present be content with the somewhat unsatisfactory conclusion that it was written probably between 65 and 100 A.D.

With regard to S. Luke the case is different. There are two distinct lines of evidence, the one indicating that S. Luke wrote not earlier than 95 A.D., the other that he wrote not later than 62 A.D.

Both of these conclusions cannot be correct, and the reasons alleged in support of each of them must be carefully examined.

The reasons for holding the later date are entirely derived from the fact that, if S. Luke betrays an acquaintance with the *Antiquities* of Josephus (93-94 A.D.), he cannot have written until after that date.

The reasons for holding that S. Luke had read the *Antiquities* are as follows :—

i. Acts v. 36, 37. ' Before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody ; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves : who was slain ; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him : he also perished ; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad.'

The Judas here mentioned is Judas the Gaulonite, whose rising is narrated in Josephus (*Antiquities*, xviii. 1), when 'Quirinius himself came into Judaea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance.'

The identification of Judas the Gaulonite is made quite plain by Josephus's statement (*Antiquities*, xx. 5) that 'Judas of Galilee' was 'that Judas who caused the people to revolt when Quirinius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews.' His rebellion took place in 6 A.D.

The rebellion of Theudas, which in Acts is placed before it, occurred forty years later, 46 A.D. It is sometimes urged that S. Luke was referring to another Theudas, unknown to, or at least not mentioned by, Josephus, but the fulness of information given by the Jewish historian about the various tumults and insurrections of the period, renders this a mere council of despair.

The true solution seems to be provided by a passage in the *Antiquities* (xx. 5), where Theudas and Judas are mentioned close together. The passage is so important that we quote it in full :—

'Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judaea, that a certain magician whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan. For he told them he was a prophet; and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it. And many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to

Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Cuspius Fadus. He was the son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria; which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth. He was also more eminent for his piety than his son Alexander; for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators the great famine happened in Judaea, in which Queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have already related. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were slain, I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Quirinius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews.'

It will be noticed that here the rebellion of Judas is referred to in a few lines after an account of that of Theudas. Now the placing of the revolt of Judas after that of Theudas in Acts is easily explained, if we may assume that S. Luke was influenced by an incorrect reminiscence of this passage in Josephus; and when a literary explanation can be found of a mistake of this kind, the probability that it is the correct explanation is very high. But this is not the only indication of S. Luke's indebtedness to Josephus.

II. S. Luke iii. 1. 'In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea, and Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, but his brother Philip was tetrarch of Ituraea and the land of Trachonitis, and Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene.'

The only Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene known to us from other sources is he who was put to death by Antony about 34 B.C. In the *Antiquities*, xv. 10, we read that, 'One Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias,

but he was not satisfied with its revenues.' In *The Wars of the Jews* (xxi. 10) we again hear of the house of Lysanias, which, we are told, was taken away from Zenodorus and bestowed upon Herod (the Great). When Herod's dominions were divided among his sons, it would seem to have passed to Philip, who received 'Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis' (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6). Philip died about 33 A.D. About eight years later we learn from the *Antiquities* (xix. 5) that Claudius 'confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa (*i.e.* Herod Agrippa I.). He also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned: that is, Judaea and Samaria. And this he restored to him as due to his family, but for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him as out of his own territories.' Again, in the *Antiquities* (xx. 7) we find that Claudius bestowed on Agrippa (*i.e.* Herod Agrippa II.) 'the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea; and added thereto Trachonitis and Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias.' Here we seem to come upon the true explanation of the source of S. Luke's statement that Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene, for there is no satisfactory evidence that any other Lysanias than the one executed by Antony had ever been in possession of Abila: as in the case of Theudas and Judas in Acts, we seem to have lighted upon a literary cause for what is probably a mistaken statement. The reference to the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias side by side in the *Antiquities* might easily lead a reader to infer that Philip and Lysanias were tetrarchs contemporaneously in their respective dominions.

The fact that there are two cases in S. Luke's writings in which what is *prima facie* an historical mistake can be accounted for as an inaccurate remembrance of passages in

Josephus, immensely strengthens the probability that in each case this is the real cause of S. Luke's making the statements he does.

Two other cases of the possible influence of Josephus upon S. Luke may be mentioned, although they only possess any weight if his knowledge of that writer can be regarded as established by the two already considered.

III. S. Luke omits the account of the death of S. John the Baptist as given by S. Mark and S. Matthew, who attribute it to the machinations of Herodias. Now Josephus states (*Antiquities*, xviii. 5) that Herod put S. John to death because he feared that 'the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion.' Now, if S. Luke had read Josephus, it is possible that he may have omitted the Marcan account of the Baptist's death because it conflicted with that given by the Jewish historian.

IV. S. Luke describes Herodias (iii. 19) as 'his brother's wife,' not naming the brother; S. Mark and S. Matthew both name Philip as the brother. Josephus states (*Antiquities*, xviii. 5) that Herodias's first husband was Herod, 'the son of Simon the high priest's daughter,' while Philip was a son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem (*Wars of the Jews*, i. 28). Here, again, we have an instance of S. Luke omitting a statement made by S. Matthew and S. Mark which is at variance with the testimony of Josephus. As far as the evidence of these last two instances goes, it tends to confirm the impression conveyed by the first two that S. Luke was acquainted with the writings of Josephus, though more than that cannot be said.

With regard to the whole question, we may affirm that the evidence of the use of Josephus by S. Luke, if it falls a good deal short of actual demonstration, is at least weighty

enough to make us require very cogent and unequivocal proof that the Gospel and Acts were written at an earlier date.

Unless such proof is forthcoming, the Gospel of S. Luke must be dated not earlier than 95 A.D.

The arguments for an early date are fully dealt with in Harnack's recent work, *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*. Put briefly, they are these:—

1. The Gospel and Acts are the work of one hand.
2. The Gospel must have been written before the Acts.
3. The Acts must have been written immediately after the last event recorded in it, S. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Rome (*i.e.* about 62 A.D.), as otherwise we cannot account for the work breaking off where it does. To quote Harnack's own words (p. 99 of the English translation), 'We are accordingly left with the results: *that the concluding verses of the Acts of the Apostles, taken in conjunction with the absence of any reference in the book to the result of the trial of S. Paul and to his martyrdom, make it in the highest degree probable that the work was written at a time when S. Paul's trial in Rome had not yet come to an end.*'

Now it must be observed that this third argument of Harnack's rests upon nothing but the purely *a priori* assumption that if S. Luke had known anything more about S. Paul he would have told it.

This is, of course, a mere assumption, and a number of other alternatives are equally possible. For instance, ill health or death may have prevented him from writing more. He may have felt that the proper climax of his work was the preaching of S. Paul in Rome, and not his martyrdom. He may have intended to write a third part to his work, in which the death of S. Paul was to be recorded.

The reason why Acts ends just when it does, and as it

does, cannot now be discovered, it can only be guessed; and when it comes to pure guesswork, one guess is really no more likely to be correct than another. The fact is, that even the cleverest modern German theologian cannot have a sufficiently intimate knowledge of S. Luke's mind to be able to say that he would or would not have concluded his work in a particular way. We might take as a parallel the case of Thucydides, who, though he mentions in Book v. of his history that he was exiled for twenty years, thus implying that he eventually returned to Athens, yet tells us nothing of the circumstances of his recall, which must have taken place at a very important crisis of the history of his country. Certainly, in the face of the evidence which suggests the acquaintance of S. Luke with the writings of Josephus, we should hesitate before assigning the Gospel and Acts to an early date, on the purely subjective view that if S. Luke wrote after S. Paul's martyrdom, he *must* have included an account of that event in Acts; or on the supposition that S. Paul was released from his imprisonment, that his release must have been recorded there.

If another conjecture on the subject may be permitted, we would suggest that the 'we' sections of Acts (in which we would include not only those in which the author actually speaks in the first person, but practically the whole of the concluding chapters from xx. 5 onwards) were written before the close of S. Paul's captivity, but that the Gospel and Acts as a whole were not composed till many years later, and that the author, then embodying his earlier fragment in his later work, for some reason not now discoverable did not continue the history of S. Paul beyond the point at which the earlier fragment ended. This is a mere guess, it is true, but one that is as likely to be correct as Harnack's, *a priori*, while it also has the

advantage of not compelling us to disregard the evidence which strongly suggests S. Luke's acquaintance with Josephus.

If S. Luke wrote as late as 95 A.D., he must have written in his old age ; but this is not really a difficulty ; one has only to think of such names as Sophocles and Milton, Tennyson and Browning, to be assured that any *a priori* arguments to the effect that the writings of S. Luke are too fresh and vigorous to be the work of an old man are at once futile and foolish.

We conclude then that, in the present state of our knowledge, the balance of the evidence is rather in favour of a late date for S. Luke, since the argument based on his apparent knowledge of Josephus is less subjective and less *a priori* than that based on the rather abrupt termination of Acts.

While the growth of an abundant Gospel literature before S. Luke wrote is not wholly inconsistent with an early date for the composition of his works, it accords better with a later date ; and a comparatively late date both for S. Matthew and S. Luke makes it easier to understand the lack of direct quotations from these Gospels in the Apostolic Fathers.

We must be content in this matter with more or less tentative conclusions, but we may provisionally suggest the following dates for the composition of the Synoptic Gospels :—

S. Mark, about 65 A.D.

S. Matthew, after 65 and before 100 A.D. (perhaps about 80-90 A.D.).

S. Luke, not earlier than 95 A.D.

CHAPTER XV

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

IN conclusion, it will be useful to sum up briefly the main conclusions commonly current with regard to the synoptic problem.

I. S. Mark, or a Greek document hardly distinguishable from S. Mark, was used by S. Matthew and S. Luke in the compilation of their Gospels. Though the majority of scholars agree on this, a few dissent, and others hold it with a difference: *e.g.* some think that S. Luke used a considerably shorter form of the Gospel than S. Mark as we now have it; others that S. Mark is itself a compilation, one of whose sources was Q.

II. That S. Matthew and S. Luke both used a common Greek source, Q, which contained not only the non-Marcan matter common to them, but also some matter peculiar to each, and some matter recorded in S. Mark. Here again assent is not universal, and some who hold the view, hold it in a modified form: *e.g.* some hold that S. Matthew and S. Luke did not use the same document, but two different versions of it, which had already been expanded in different ways.

III. As an alternative theory to the use of Q, some hold that S. Matthew used a collection of Christ's sayings, and S. Luke a document partly narrative, partly consisting of discourses; and that the compilers of these immediate sources had drawn from kindred sources a certain amount

of common matter. This view really does not differ widely from some of the modifications of the previous one.

A certain amount of confusion is introduced into the matter by the fact that all writers do not use the symbol Q in the same sense. Some appear to mean by it one document, to which S. Matthew and S. Luke had access ; others a document from which the writers of S. Matthew's and S. Luke's immediate sources drew. It would be well if agreement could be arrived at as to the exact sense in which the symbol is to be used.

The main conclusions reached by the present writer are:—

- I. That S. Matthew and S. Luke both used S. Mark.
- II. That S. Matthew used a collection of Christ's sayings, and S. Luke a second gospel source ; but that in these two distinct documents were embodied some elements from an earlier source which may fairly be called Q (*i.e.* the ultimate source of matter common to S. Matthew and S. Luke).
- III. That S. Mark may have used a collection of Christ's sayings, but that the evidence does not justify us in identifying it with Q ; indeed, rather suggests that it was another independent collection.
- IV. That behind our Gospels lies a not inconsiderable pre-canonical Gospel literature, and that the process of accretion and selection was going on simultaneously, so that a document based on earlier sources never used the whole of all its sources.
- V. That while the ' two-document hypothesis ' is probably the true solution of the problem, if we only mean by it that S. Mark and the ultimate Q are the two most important sources of the Canonical Gospels, it is probably a false one if it be understood to mean that these two sources were the only documentary ones employed.

Whatever the ultimate solution of the synoptic problem

may be, the labour bestowed upon it will not have been wasted, nor is the time spent upon the study of it ill employed. Our ultimate object is to obtain a better understanding of the teaching of Jesus, and one important aid to such an understanding is a knowledge of the manner in which His words have been preserved for us in the Canonical Gospels.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The account of Christ's resurrection given in the apocryphal Gospel of S. Peter. The translation is that of Dr. Armitage Robinson; the italics indicate the points suggestive of dependence on S. Mark.

'And at dawn upon the Lord's day, Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the thing which women are wont to do for those that die, and for those that are beloved by them—she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where He was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, "Although on that day on which He was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at His sepulchre. But *who shall roll away for us the stone* that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that *we may enter in and sit by Him and do the things that are due?* *For the stone was great,* and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and lament until we come unto our home. And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there, and they see there a certain *young man sitting* in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright, who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? *Him that was crucified?* *He is risen* and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where He lay that *He is not [here]*, for He is risen and gone thither whence He was sent. *Then the women feared and fled.* Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved, and each one being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went to the sea, and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . ."' (cf. S. John xxi. 2, 3).

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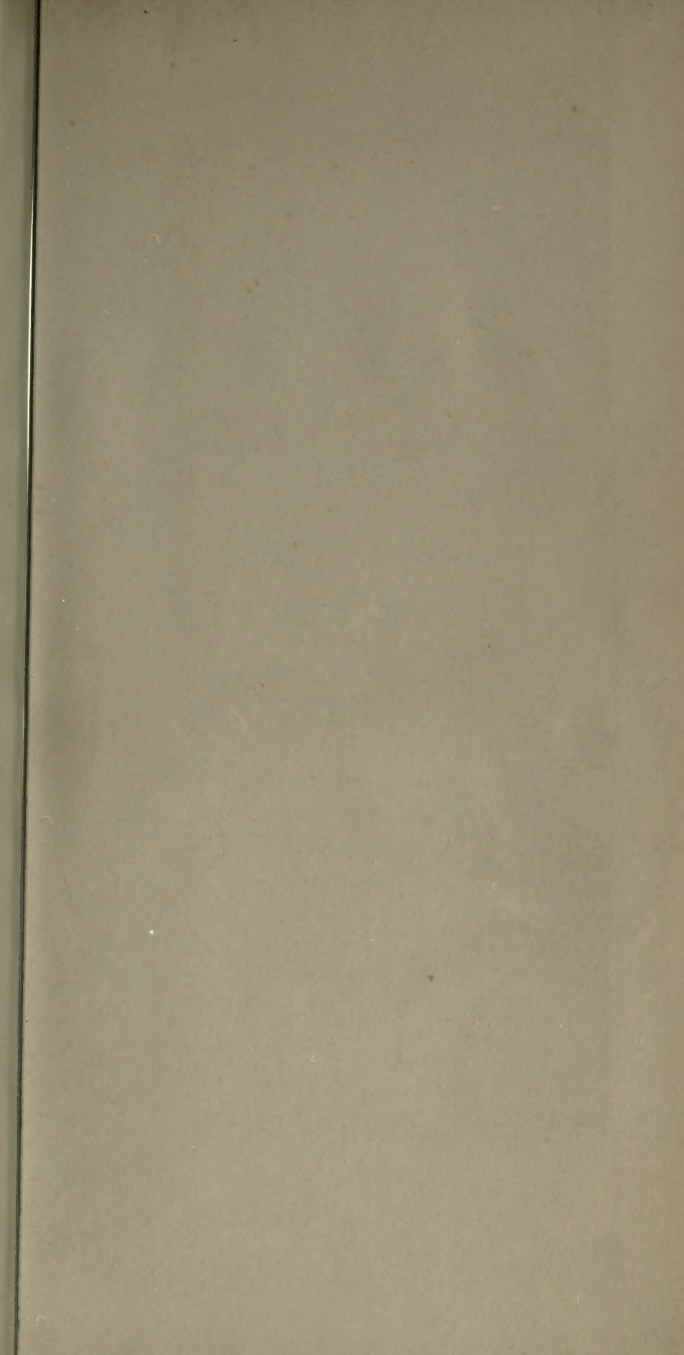
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